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# Peace News

Editorial

## THE INJUSTICE IN OUR SCHOOLS



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"We need to be aware of what we are doing when we label children, especially when we treat them according to the labels. Dr Douglas's book is a sudden revelation. Parents, teachers, administrators, politicians, and all of us must take notice of it."

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If the home environment tends to cripple the working-class child's opportunities, so does the school. *The Home and the School* is mainly concerned with primary schools, and the facts it reveals, if widely known in general, are still startling. 45% of the children in the survey were taught in classes of 40 or more; 48% went to schools built in the nineteenth century and of these schools, nearly half had not been modernised in any way since the war. Again class enters into the question of what kind of school a child goes to. A middle-class child is more likely to go to a good primary school for two main reasons: one, that good schools tend to be in middle-class areas; two, that middle-class parents tend to choose more carefully which school they will send their children to.

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Educational progressives are in a sticky position. Believing in reward for ability, they are now confronted with the fact that "ability", as our present system defines it, means in part what social class you belong to - the very factor they wish to eliminate from the educational merit system.

Their dilemma is rooted in ideology. For the most significant thing that *The Home and the School* demonstrates is that no single aspect of social privilege and under-privilege can be tackled effectively in isolation: poor homes, poor health, poor jobs, poor education are closely linked together and reinforce each other. Any social theory that "streams" people - whether on the basis of birth, wealth or "ability" - is likely to produce injustice, for success in a competitive society is to a large extent indivisible: in the meritocratic society, a brainy man is likely to be also richer, healthier and better housed than the ordinary





British education is going through an important change: from being a system where the best was the preserve of birth and wealth it is moving towards becoming one where the best goes to those with the greatest ability. This second conception is now by far the more popular, but this week it received a severe jolt by the publication by MacGibbon and Kee of a book, *The Home and the School*, by J. W. B. Douglas.

Dr Douglas is mainly concerned with the factors which affect a child's performance at school and the ways in which children are selected for different sections of our educational system. His general conclusions - based on a study of over 5,000 children - are not new: children are likely to do better at school if they are healthy, live in decent houses, have parents who are interested in their education, and come from the middle class. It is in the precision and detail with which it demonstrates these conclusions that Dr Douglas's book makes a shattering impact on many currently held assumptions.

Bad home conditions adversely affect the school performance of all children. Not unexpectedly, working-class child-

photo above by Henry Grant

ren are far more likely to have bad home conditions than middle-class children. About 17% of the children from the upper middle class came from unsatisfactory homes, while 72% of the "lower manual" working class did. But working-class children are not only much more likely to come from bad homes; the adverse effect of a bad home is much greater on a working-class than on a middle-class child. Thus middle-class children from bad homes tend to improve their performance on ability tests between the ages of eight and eleven, whereas children from the manual working class get worse.

Many aspects of environmental influence on children's school performance are examined in great detail, and the conclusion is clear-cut: the odds in our competitive school system are heavily stacked in favour of the middle-class child against the working-class child. For example, 41.7% of upper middle class mothers have a high interest in their children's school progress as against 5% among lower manual working class mothers; 77.6% of the first group want their children to stay on at school beyond the minimum leaving age as against 12.9% of the second group; 78.9% of the former make good use of medical services for their children as against 42.4% of the latter.

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Perhaps the most extraordinary revelations the book has to make appear in its treatment of "streaming" in primary schools. Dr Douglas says that there is not yet sufficient evidence on which to base an opinion as to whether streaming by ability is good or bad for the school performance of children. But in a survey of children divided into upper and lower streams on the basis of their ability on entering the school, it was found that the upper stream of children improved their performance on ability tests in the course of time while lower stream children got worse. *The very fact of being placed in a lower stream adversely affected a child's performance.*

But it was also found that "streaming by ability" itself had a curious meaning in practice. "Even when children of the same level of ability are considered, the middle class children tend to be allocated to the upper streams and the manual working class to the lower ones. . . . Those who during the first six years of their lives were said to be dirty, badly clothed and shod are likely to be found in the lower streams." The injustices of the class system, therefore, reinforce the injustices of streaming.

Dr Douglas's book has already shocked

poor yet poorer". Yet the conclusions they drew from it were extraordinarily lame. In the *Guardian* on Monday, Tyrrell Burgess, a well-known "progressive" educationist, wrote:

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But, even if the class problem could be eliminated from the definition of "ability", the "reward-for-merit" theory has serious faults: first, streaming by ability tends to exaggerate natural differences because the very fact of being placed in a low stream is detrimental to a child's performance; second, because it would lead to a new class system, no less obnoxious for being based on intelligence (i.e. the ability to pass certain tests) rather than heredity or wealth.

The alternative is to stop thinking of education as a process of training top, middle and bottom children for top, middle and bottom functions in society, and to consider it more as a means of developing the talents of individuals. It is a question of changing the emphasis from the needs of society to the needs of the child. This would require drastic alterations in the way we organised education and spent our money on it (much more would be needed on the underprivileged parts of the system). But, if we want a society based on equality, and not on equal opportunity to acquire a dominating position, then this is what we must do.



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As this is a free service we reserve the right to  
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1. Send entries to arrive not later than first  
post Monday (Friday preferred).
2. Include date, town, time, place (hall, street),  
nature of event, speakers, organisers (and  
secretary's address).

To publicise full details, book a classified or  
displayed advertisement.

Remember to order copies of Peace News for  
your advertised meeting: Sale or Return. From:  
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### 14 February, Friday

**TAUNTON.** 7.30 p.m. 47 Trull Road. Stuart  
Morris. Taunton Peace Group.

**WELLINGBOROUGH.** 7.30 p.m. Co-op Hall,  
Cannon St. Constituency project - "Labour's  
Defence Policy." George Clark debates with  
Harry Howarth (Lab. candidate). CND, YCND.

### 15 February, Saturday

**BIRMINGHAM.** 29. 8-12 p.m. Dogpool Hotel,  
Upper Pershore Road. Jazz. all profits to  
CND. Late bar. Buses 1, 27, 41, 45. CND.

**BRIDGWATER, SOM.** 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse.  
"It's my opinion" on "Pacifism means giving  
in to evil." Pacifist panel (inc. Stuart Morris)  
answering opinions from election candidates  
and others. PPU.

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heid and colonialism. 6 months 8s 9d, 12  
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**TONBRIDGE.** 6.30 p.m. Adult School Hall,  
Danvers Road. "Soul culture - yes or no?"  
Speakers: Fred Crayford and Gwyneth Marsh.  
SoF.

### 17 February, Monday

**CAMBRIDGE.** 8.15 p.m. Mill Lane Lecture  
Rooms (Rm 2) Alan Lovell: "War Films." CND.

**LONDON W.C.1.** 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Nora  
Page: "Pacifist's propaganda - what the indi-  
vidual can do." PPU.

### 17-21 February, Mon-Fri

**RUISLIP.** 7 p.m. 3 Paignton Road (nearest  
tubes Ruislip Manor or Ruislip Gdns). Every  
weekday evening leafleting. C'ttee of 100.

### 18 February, Tuesday

**KINGSTON, SURREY.** 7.45 p.m. East-West  
Bridges House, 10 Fairfield South. Mtg. PPU  
and CND.

**LONDON N.4.** 8 p.m. Brownwood Road Lib-  
rary. Dr Gordon Signy on "Cervical Smears".  
Stoke Newington Liaison Committee for  
Women's Peace Groups.

**LONDON S.W.14.** 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon  
Road. Mrs Grace Berger on Civil Liberties.  
PPU.

19 February, Wednesday

**RESISTANCE** - Bulletin of the Committee of  
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**SARVODAYA**, monthly magazine of the  
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### 22 February, Saturday

**LONDON W.1.** Assemble 3 p.m. corner of Hare-  
wood Pl and Hanover Sq (nr Oxford St) for  
poster parade. CND.

**RUISLIP.** 3 p.m. Outside National Provincial  
Bank, High St. Peace News and Sanity selling  
and general leafleting. C'ttee of 100.

### 23 February, Sunday

**CAMBRIDGE.** 3 p.m. Union Gramophone Rm.  
CND joint mtg with Labour Club. Stuart Hall.  
CND.

**LONDON N.1.** 3.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Road,  
Kings Cross. Anthony Bates on "Reincarna-  
tion". Order of the Great Companions.

### 24 February, Monday

**CAMBRIDGE.** 8.15 p.m. Mill Lane Lecture Rms  
(Rm 2) Richard Gott: "The prospect for  
neutralism." CND.

### 26 February, Wednesday

**LONDON S.W.1.** 7.30 p.m. House of Commons  
(room booked by Frank Allaun MP). Rev  
Ambrose Reeves on "The dangers of civil war  
in South Africa." LPF.

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"It's my opinion" on "Pacifism means giving  
in to evil." Pacifist panel (inc. Stuart Morris)  
answering opinions from election candidates  
and others. PPU.

LEEDS. 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse. Woodhouse  
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LONDON W.1. Assemble 3 p.m. corner of Hare-  
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for poster parade. CND.

OXFORD. 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Carfax. Peace  
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RUISLIP. 3 p.m. Outside National Provincial  
Bank, High St. Peace News and Sanity selling  
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## 16 February, Sunday

COULSDON, SURREY. 11 Reddown Road. E.  
Surrey and district CND supporters' mtg with  
George Clark. 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. election issues;  
2.15 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. area workshop for  
E. Surrey. Phone Downland 587 or Caterham  
44950.

LONDON N.W.8. 7.30 p.m. The Fourth Feathers  
Club, Mulready St (off Church St), tube - Edg-  
ware Road. Folksong evening with Bob Daven-  
port, Tony McCartney, John Baxter, Frank  
Hand and Ivan Limner. Adm 2s. YCND.

ROMFORD. 2 p.m. White Swan, Market Pl. Dis-  
cussion of talk-in at Ilford Council, Lord  
Home's visit to Hornchurch, preparation for  
Ruislip. S. Essex C'ttee of 100.

RUISLIP. 10.30 a.m. Ruislip Manor stn. Assem-  
ble to take round petition calling for base to  
be turned over to local civilian use. C'ttee of  
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PPU.

## 19 February, Wednesday

LONDON N.9. 8 p.m. Congregational Ch. Hall,  
Lower Fore St. Group discussion. PPU.

## 20 February, Thursday

CHIPPENHAM, WILTS. 7.30 p.m. Town Hall.  
"Disarmament and the vote." Speakers: Chris-  
topher Layton (prospective Lib. candidate),  
Giles Radice (prospective Lab. candidate) and  
Jeffrey Boss (CND). CND.

LONDON E.11. 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Hse, Bush  
Road, Leytonstone. Elsie Pracy, B.Sc., on  
India's problems after 17 years of indepen-  
dence. PPU.

## 21 February, Friday

LONDON S.E.6. 8 p.m. Lewisham Concert Hall,  
Town Hall, Catford. "Folksongs for Peace."  
See classified ad. for details. C'ttee of 100.

## 22-23 February, Sat-Sun

CAMBRIDGE. Sat. 2.15-6 p.m. Friends Mtg Hse,  
12 Jesus Lane; Sun. 10 a.m.-4 p.m. Old Court,  
Clare College. E. Anglia CND school on non-  
violence. Anthony Weaver: "The non-violent  
society and conflict." Adam Roberts: "The  
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## Start of new campaign for integration

## New York: thousands in school boycott

Godfrey Featherstone writes: The first of several planned city-wide school boycotts to protest against virtual educational segregation took place in New York on January 3. Nearly half a million children and many teachers stayed away from school for the day. More than half the 450,000 Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were absent from classes and 2,700 white and non-white pupils, parents and teachers picketed 300 of the city's schools.

Ten days before the boycott, Bayard Rustin, chief organiser of last year's Washington March, and 35 volunteers moved in to a Negro church and spent seventeen hours a day organising the details of the boycott. They distributed posters, organised support, arranged one-day "freedom schools" in 200 Negro churches and laid plans for future boycotts.

The boycott caused annoyance among some white sympathisers, but at the same time, reported Hella Pick in *The Guardian* on February 5, "they join in insisting that more funds must be made available to improve schools throughout the city." Bayard Rustin told *Newsweek* (of February 10):

"A number of white liberals will be alienated... but these liberals can only realise new insight out of their confusion. By running to the suburbs, the whites are leaving to the Negro the total burden of improving schools... Whites must learn to share this burden. We will force them to learn - and I say force." A few days before the boycott, the Board of Education offered what it called its "first plan for school integration" which would set up 20 pairs of schools on the "borders" of white and coloured territories in New York. Developing over three years, the scheme would mean that all first, second and third grade pupils would travel to one school and all the fourth, fifth and sixth

grade pupils to the other school. Its disadvantage would be that the time and distance of travelling would be increased for half the children.

The civil rights leaders described this plan as "too little, too late" and went ahead with the boycott. They told the *New York Times* of February 4 that the primary aim of the demonstration was to empty the 168 "ghetto schools" which have an enrolment of 90% or more non-white pupils. Another 100 schools have 50% or more non-whites. Almost three-quarters of New York's coloured children rarely meet a white child in school.

The plan suggested by the civil rights leaders, led by the Rev Milton Galamison, Chairman of the Committee for Integrated Schools, was one for "educational parks", central campuses serving mixed groups of school districts. The main difficulty which faces the New York Educational Board is that the bulk of the white and coloured populations live in virtual segregation; without radical rebuilding programmes - which the civil rights leaders' plan seems to imply - children would have to travel long distances to school.

Some white parents associations are already protesting against the moderate plan of the Educational Board, but the Negro leaders are prepared for Negro children to travel long distances and they feel that white children must travel to Harlem, Brooklyn and other Negro areas. "Behind this drive," wrote Hella Pick in *The Guardian* on January 31, "is not merely a protest against the extent of New York's housing segregation but the contention that schools in white areas are much better equipped and far less overcrowded than in the Negro section."

Similar boycotts are being considered by civil rights groups in Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Wilmington, Chester and many other cities.



Negro children picket a Manhattan elementary school in the one-day, city-wide school boycott which took place in New York on February 3. The aim of the boycott was to bring about racial integration in schools and better educational conditions for Negro and Puerto Rican children.

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## LETTER FROM ISRAEL

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as aid to the tourist industries of Israel and Jordan - also showed that there could be Israeli-Arab co-operation. The



called its "first plan for school integration" which would set up 20 pairs of schools on the "borders" of white and coloured territories in New York. Developing over three years, the scheme would mean that all first, second and third grade pupils would travel to one school and all the fourth, fifth and sixth

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In January the Israeli Ministries of Defence, Labour and Communications decided that young people who are liable to military conscription may serve for four years on Israel's merchant ships instead. Already 160 people have enrolled, but the agreement applies only to those who had only primary education, since the army will not relinquish the more educated conscripts. The decision is intended to relieve the crew problem in Israeli merchant ships, in which 40% of the crews are foreigners. Almost a year ago a measure was introduced allowing conscripts who were the

only wage-earners in their families to do alternative service in the Timna copper mines in the South Negev; however, this did not save the mines as had been hoped. Both alternative services provide full payment; the pay is high at Timna, but quite low on the merchant ships.

Before the Israeli attack on Egypt in 1956, military service was lengthened to 2½ years, but it has now been reduced to 2 years for men and 18 months for women. This reduction does not mean a lessening of tension with the Arab states; but Israel now has weapons which lessen the need for so many troops.

People discussing the problem of nuclear weapons in the Middle East seem to blindly justify the Israeli Government's policy on security matters. When one guesses aloud that perhaps Israel is developing nuclear weapons in the Nachal Rubin or Dimona atomic research establishments (which are officially said to be "for peaceful purposes"), usually the reply is: "So what? Why shouldn't we have the bomb when others have it?"

Only a few professors in Jerusalem are taking action about making the Middle East an atom-free zone. They have held several lectures and have issued two pamphlets. The first, published in popular form, but still too dear for ordinary people to buy, includes extracts from the Israeli and international newspapers in an attempt to prove that atomic weapons are being made in Israel. The military censor has refused to pass some of the material of the second pamphlet. The group succeeded, after much discussion, in persuading him to lessen the amount of censored material. Many people have not heard of these or similar activities since the popular press publishes little or nothing about them.

Most people who attach any importance to proposals for atom-free zones or disarmament are more concerned with the

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immediate external and internal problems of Israel. The most pressing problem is the continuance of military rule over the Arabs in Israel. The regulations concerning the notorious "moving licence", which restricted Arab movements and which Arabs had to carry in addition to their identity cards, have been considerably relaxed. But the inhabitants of certain villages in the north and the Bedouins of the Negev are still covered by them. The old regulations still apply also to 700 "suspicious persons" who are blacklisted in order to prevent the setting up of Arab organisations.

The Arab's opportunities for work are limited by (a) the danger of a "confinement order" which prevents them from having fixed employment; (b) the refusal of lodging by the inhabitants of Jewish towns or settlements; (c) the Employment Service's regulations which are intended to prevent "unorganised work". These limitations force the Israeli Arab into accepting in silence any misdeeds done to him.

A recent example of the maltreatment of Arabs was the revelation that a Druze village of 400 people had no means of communication and no doctor. Ten children died of measles because medical aid could not be obtained in time. No Jewish village is without roads, telephones or other means of communication. Often Arab villages are denied the funds to establish these or to install electricity, though near-by Jewish settlements are granted funds.

In January a Jewish girl in soldier's uniform was killed by several Bedouins when she was found stranded on a road in the Negev. There could be many motives for this murder - including that of an oppressed man seeing a woman in the uniform of the oppressor. The newspapers' reaction was not to treat this as a murder which could happen in many varied sets of circumstances, but as part of a war between Arabs and Jews. In the process of investigation several whole tribes were described as "suspect" by the authorities.

The Pope's visit - apart from its value

as aid to the tourist industries of Israel and Jordan - also showed that there could be Israeli-Arab co-operation. The Jordanian security men accompanying the Pope were allowed to cross the border, travel through Israel and go back to Jordan quite freely.

The Israeli authorities always attempt to describe the tensions between Israel and the Arab states as arising between "democratic" and "totalitarian" countries. The description doesn't really fit. Israel is eager enough to have relations with new African states which are dictatorships. Israel itself has several totalitarian characteristics: the laws which prevent marriage between people of different religious and national origin; the military rule over the Arabs; the denial of citizenship to those Arabs who were born in Israel, except to a few who spend months and years attempting to obtain it - while every Jew who comes to Israel is automatically granted citizenship by the Law of Return; the nature of the official Zionist propaganda; the denial of employment to non-Zionists and sometimes to those who are not members of the ruling party.

Every year at Passover time the Israeli army organises a large four-day public march to Jerusalem which many people take part in and which receives good press coverage. Last year a group of pacifists planned to go on the march with posters advocating nuclear disarmament and peace in the Middle East. Because the idea was thought of too late, only one pacifist, Shalom Zamir, was able to go. His participation was well received, and people complimented him for being "a brave man" and said "Let us hear what he has to say."

This year there is a plan to organise a strong group of pacifists to take part - the initiative has been taken by a Londoner, Harry Smith, who is staying in an Israeli kibbutz. Any people from abroad who would like to come here in March to take part should write to: J. T. Sjk, P.O. Box 20178, Tel-Aviv, Israel.



## EDITORIALS

### The right to use Trafalgar Square

The Ministry of Works has still not replied to an application from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, made last December, for the use of Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday. This matter raises an important issue of civil liberties.

We understand that no application has been made for its use by any other organisation. The Ministry of Works told *Peace News* last Tuesday that they were still consulting with the police and the Home Office about the matter.

The police feel that the Square will be too small for the march. There is some justification for this. Although in the last three years CND's Easter demonstrations have not grown substantially, CND officials naturally hope that this year's one-day march will be its largest demonstration yet.

In 1962, when CND was unable to get the use of Trafalgar Square because another organisation got its application in first, Peggy Duff was quoted as saying

on Easter Sunday: "It's lucky we couldn't get Trafalgar Square. We could never get them all in." The fact has to be faced that CND's rally in Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday might obstruct the roads to a considerable extent. CND officials are prepared to face this, and have presented the police with a detailed plan for re-routing traffic away from Whitehall and Trafalgar Square. The police appear to have rejected these proposals.

CND state, with some justification, that, in the event, Hyde Park proved unsatisfactory for the demonstrations they held there in 1962 and 1963. If Trafalgar Square is denied to them, a serious limitation will have been placed on the freedom to express political dissent. This limitation is the more inexcusable, in that the police are perfectly willing to block main roads in central London for other purposes, particularly state visits.

Of course, the police do not want the roads continually blocked, but nor does anyone else. CND only wants to hold a demonstration for a short time on Easter Monday, when traffic in London is not particularly heavy.

Part of the police's concern about the demonstration is that there have been disturbances on the last two Alder-

maston marches. It will be a tragedy if the disorderliness of some demonstrators is allowed to result in a curtailment of our civil liberties. Steps are now being taken by CND to keep the march orderly. Care is being taken in the appointment of marshals, and in making them clearly identifiable.

But it is to be hoped that further, and more public, efforts will now be made in this direction. In particular, it would help if CND issued a strong public statement that non-violent discipline is to be followed on the demonstration; distributed a detailed and precise code of discipline to every marcher; and made a request that all who feel unable to follow this code should stay away. Greater emphasis on these points would reduce the likelihood of violence, and might make the police more accommodating.

### CND policy and the Easter march

The letter from the General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which is printed on page eleven of this issue, sets out to clarify the aims and the policy of CND's 1964 Easter march. Unfortunately the basic policy of CND is explained in a rather confusing way in Mrs Duff's letter:

"We shall march this year as always in support of the full policy of the Campaign. Our leaflets, posters and banners will proclaim our opposition to all nuclear weapons, to all nuclear bases, and to all nuclear alliances, including NATO and SEATO."

If CND is opposed to all nuclear weapons, it is only so in the same general sense of many of its opponents: a resolution at the CND annual conference last October calling on all coun-

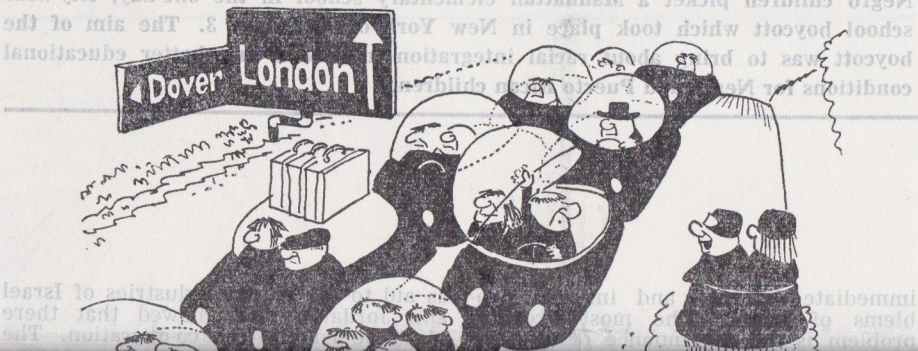
British independent nuclear force (but not nuclear alliances) is very close to the Labour Party's official policy of phasing it out.

Nevertheless, CND owes it to its supporters and to the public to be clear on this point. If the CND idea of the "independent presence" in the General Election means in fact putting greatest emphasis on the point of policy where there is little difference with the Labour Party, this should be said. Though this is only a matter of emphasis, it is an important one. CND's basic policy, of unilateral nuclear disarmament and withdrawal from NATO by Britain, is very often de-emphasised in CND statements.

Mrs Duff is right in her belief that peace groups need to make concrete and specific demands: but such demands can be much more radical than "No British Independent Deterrent" and "Halt the spread of nuclear weapons." CND has always insisted that the debate between the parties about nuclear weapons was inadequate; to concede to the terms of reference of the national debate at this stage is to concede that CND has failed to develop any real alternative policy.

### Mr Kloppenburg needs help

Theodore Kloppenburg, the South African pacifist, is engaged in a legal battle with the South African Government. If he loses, he may be imprisoned for a considerable time. His "offence" is that he broke a banning order imposed on him under the Suppression of Communism Act by holding a lone, silent fast in protest against the ban. Mr Kloppenburg is a determined opponent of apartheid but is not a Com-





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Mrs Duff's argument for giving "special emphasis to the renunciation of the British independent nuclear force" is, in part, that this provides "a clear link with the defence issues of the General Election." This is indeed a fair argument, for renunciation of the

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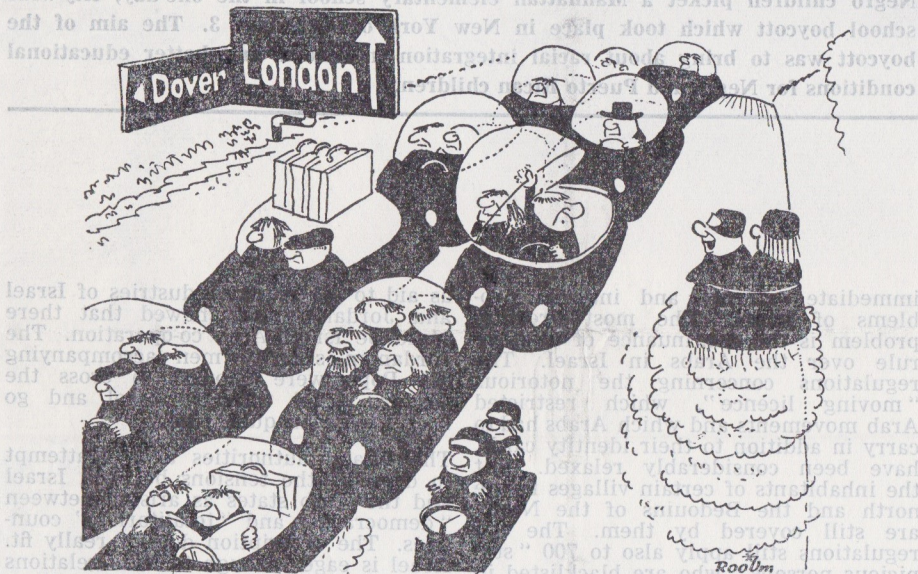
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Mr Kloppenburg has very little money and, if he does not receive financial help, he may lose his case through lack of sufficient funds to conduct his defence properly. If any *Peace News* readers would like to help him, they should send their donation to the Christian Action Defence and Aid Fund, c/o Canon L. John Collins, 2 Amen Court, London E.C.4, earmarked for Theodore Kloppenburg.

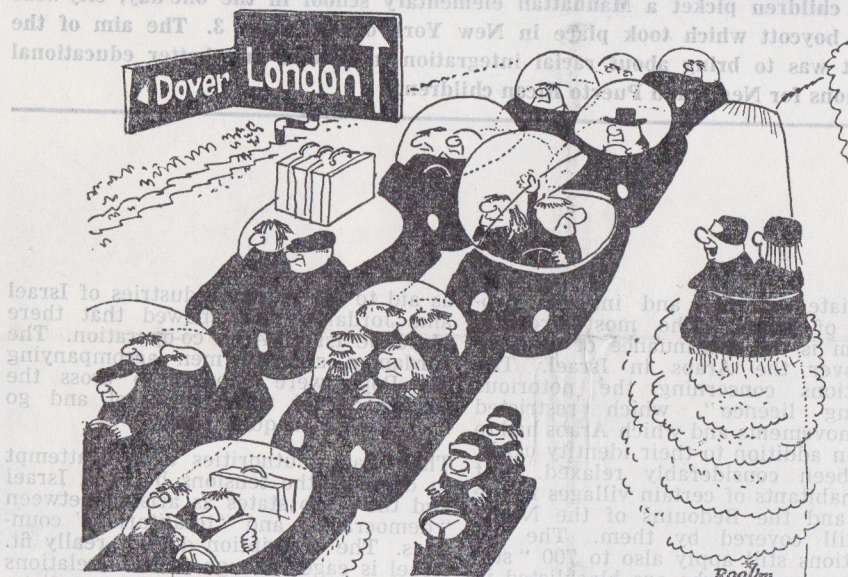


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JOHN BALL'S COLUMN



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## JOHN BALL'S COLUMN

It doesn't seem to matter where you live: if you make films, you're in trouble. One week we have Peregrine Worsthorne going puce in the columns of the *Sunday Telegraph* over what he calls the "anti-militarist naiveté" of *Dr Strangelove's* audiences; the next, we get a repeat performance from, of all people, Marshal Malinovsky.

From the height of his position as Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Malinovsky has spoken out against "pacifism and abstract rejection of war" in the arts - in particular, films. The artist, he said, "cannot take a stand on a position of abstract humanism and objectivism, forgetting the lofty aims of the struggle, which were written on our banners." As a rearguard action, this one is pretty desperate; for the point of the films which have aroused the Marshal's opposition appears to be precisely that those "lofty aims" were only words on

## Russia's answer to Peregrine Worsthorne

banners, and were not realised in practice. Instead, there was incompetence and injustice.

Somehow, I don't think Marshal Malinovsky will get away with it. Once people get into the way of asking awkward questions, they aren't easy to stop. I like to think that somewhere in Russia one film-maker is saying to another, "war is far too serious a business to be left to marshals of the army."

Mr Harold Wilson said last weekend that Labour will repeal the Rent Act and replace it by tribunals to settle fair rents; provide low interest loans for housing development; take urban building land into public ownership; tighten up the town planning machinery; and mobilise the building industry to concentrate on essential projects.

He didn't say how all this was going to be done; but it looks as if an intelligent use of land and the lowering of the cost of housing are high on Labour's list of priorities. This will be welcome news for a great many people. A man I met at the bus stop this morning, who had just looked with some wonder on a bowler-hatted gentleman being received

into Trocoll House (the new office of Trollope and Colls, the builders) by a door-opening funkier, commented: "that place must have cost a couple of million, what with the price of land." Then he said, with sudden heat, "that's the one thing that would make me vote Labour, if they'll put a stop to that." He's not the only one, I imagine.

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across an example of it dominating all other matters of human concern to the extent related in the *Guardian* recently in its report on the England-India test match in Calcutta.

"The Indian pace bowlers were on for an hour today as there was still a little moisture in the wicket and, in spite of interruptions for riots and a two minutes' silence for Mahatma Gandhi, runs came freely enough. Then the spinners came on and..."

Two recent publications which are well worth reading: *Anarchy* 36 (2s from Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London S.W.6.), which contains the full story by Donald Room of last year's brick-planting case; and *Poetry from the Left* (3s 6d from Breakthru publications, Densbarn, Lindfield, Sussex), whose title explains itself. As far as the subject-matter goes, that is: for the quality of the poems, every man's his own judge.

No wonder they want to do away with the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research: it can't even look after the Imperial Yard.

the telephone number of

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Michael Randle talks to Michael Raptis,  
economic adviser to  
the socialist sector in Algeria

## WORKERS' CONTROL IN ALGERIA

**Randle:** What is the relative importance of the socialised sector in both agriculture and industry in Algeria as compared with the non-socialised sector?

**Raptis:** Since the most recent measures nationalising agricultural properties the socialist sector in agriculture comprises now more than three million hectares (more than seven million five hundred thousand acres). All the land formerly owned by Europeans is now socialised plus 300,000 hectares of land formerly belonging to rich Algerian proprietors. This means that the greatest part of the cultivated land in Algeria, including the most fertile land, is now socialised. In the very near future new measures will be taken to extend the agrarian reform by nationalising all the remaining land in the hands of rich Algerian proprietors.

**Randle:** What is the position of the peasants?

**Raptis:** There are almost 600,000 poor peasants owning from half an hectare to ten hectares of land each of very poor quality. The policy of the state towards this sector of the peasantry is very important, not from an economic point of view but from a social point of view.

The policy of the state towards the peasant sector is the following:

1. To help them to modernise their production.
2. To include them for the first time in the productive process of the country, because in fact until today they have lived outside of the market.

enterprises, but some also are very important - for instance Acilor, producing steel, and Les Verreries de l'Afrique du Nord, the glassworks factory, the biggest factory of this kind in the whole Magreb. However, you must remember that industry in Algeria was not very developed.

**Randle:** How does the system actually work?

**Raptis:** The workers of the factory or of the farm constitute the general assembly of the workers. That is the first core of the self-management system and the most powerful because the general assembly has the power to decide all points concerning the management and production in a farm or factory. The general assembly of the workers elects by secret ballot the workers' council, who in turn elect the management committee which is the executive body of the workers' council. This management committee is made up of workers and its president is also a worker. The president is assisted by a director who is a technical assistant and is under the authority of the management committee, of the workers council and of the president of the management committee. The director is nominated by the state, because he represents the state inside each farm and factory within the system. But although he is nominated by the state, his nomination must be supported by a communal council of self-management.

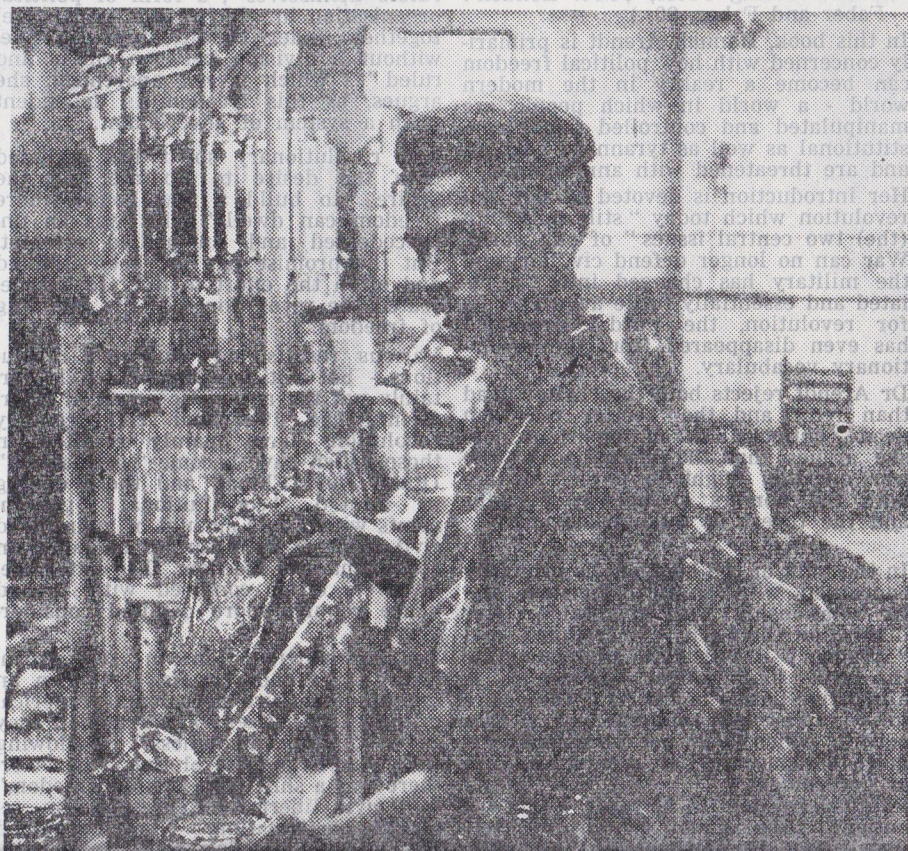
In each commune in Algeria we try to organise the body which consists of all

Michael Raptis was born in Egypt in 1911. He graduated in civil engineering at the Polytechnic School in Athens. He first became interested in politics while a student and was a sympathiser with the Trotskyist movement in Greece. He was arrested by the Metaxas dictatorship in 1935 and was exiled for one year on a small Greek island in the Aegean. After that he spent several months in prison in Peleponesus in the southern part of Greece.

He then left Greece, going first to Switzerland and later to Paris. He stayed in Paris from 1938 to 1959, when he had to leave France because of his activities in support of the Algerian revolution. During his stay in France he continued his studies and became a graduate of the Town Planning Institute and of the Institute of Statistics of the University of Paris. For the whole of this period he continued to be an active member of the international Trotskyist movement.

After leaving Paris, he went to Holland and was arrested there in June, 1960, for pro-FLN activities. He spent 13 months in prison without trial. He was eventually sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment and was finally released in September, 1961. He then left Holland for Morocco, and stayed there until Algeria became independent when he went to Algeria for the first time. He decided to stay and work in Algeria.

He is interviewed here by Michael Randle, who went to Algeria last June for a conference on non-governmental aid to Algeria.





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2. To include them for the first time in the productive process of the country, because in fact until today they have lived outside of the market;
3. To improve the land, to reclaim new land and to organise them in a system of co-operatives, and to give them help in many fields in both production and marketing.

**Randle:** Has there been any opposition by the peasants to this policy?

**Raptis:** The only opposition comes from the richest peasants; all the others have much to gain and nothing to lose.

**Randle:** Is the socialised sector, the part that has been nationalised, run completely on self-management lines, or are there various methods of organisation?

**Raptis:** Up to now the exclusive system in the nationalised agricultural sector is the system of self-management committees.

**Randle:** How are these committees elected and how do they operate?

**Raptis:** First it is important to stress that the self-management committee system in Algeria is not a doctrinal option; it was thrown up by the needs of the situation. It started as a spontaneous movement when many of the European landowners left the country

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In each commune in Algeria we try to organise the body which consists of all the presidents of the self-management committees in the commune, plus the representative of the party, the unions, the Popular Army and the administration.

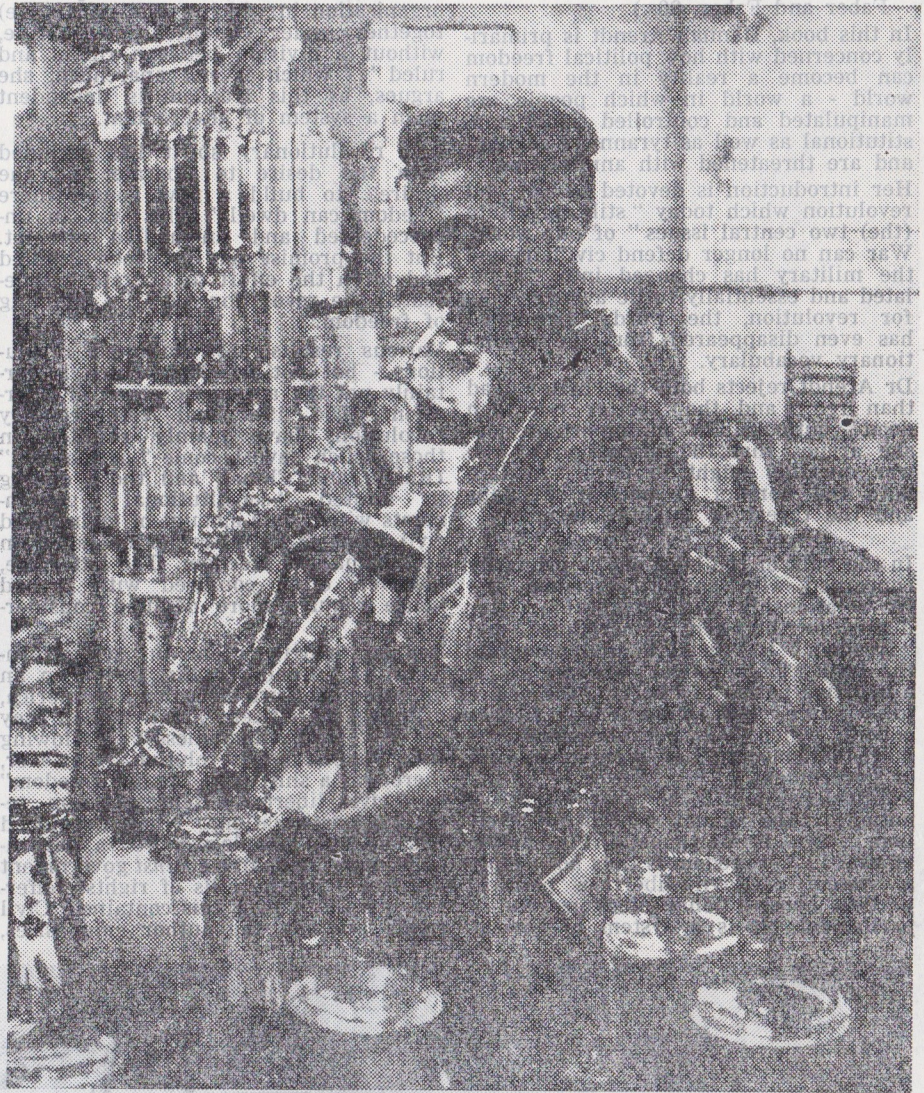
**Randle:** How often does the general assembly meet? Is there any limit to the time that the directors and the other administrators serve?

**Raptis:** The general assembly can be convened at any time by the workers' council or by the management committee and in any case must meet at least four times a year. The president and the other elected members of the management committee stay in office for three years. Each year one-third of the members of the workers' council and of the management committee must be re-elected. The self-management committee is a kind of school for the workers of Algeria. There was a danger that if all the management committee was replaced each year the work would suffer, hence the system of replacing one-third each year.

**Randle:** Could the same people go on being re-elected?

without trial. He was eventually sentenced to 15 months imprisonment and was finally released in September, 1961. He then left Holland for Morocco, and stayed there until Algeria became independent when he went to Algeria for the first time. He decided to stay and work in Algeria.

He is interviewed here by Michael Randle, who went to Algeria last June for a conference on non-governmental aid to Algeria.



necessity of a national economic plan. How can this plan be tied in with the system of self-management committees? Not by compulsion but mainly through financial means, through taxes, investment and price regulations. For instance, the state can invest a large amount of money to further the main objectives of the overall plan. The state gives preference for investment to the enterprises which are contributing most to this objective. In this way enterprises are re-orientated to accord with the national plan.

**Randle:** What about marketing arrange-

**Bottling plant at a lemonade factory at Blida, Algeria, run under the system of workers' management (photo by Michael Randle).**

agreements are being made with France that are more favourable to Algeria - because Algeria does not intend to cut any links with France. Secondly, new markets are being sought to diversify the external market.

**Randle:** How has the self-management experiment worked out over the last year on the farms?



proprietors.  
**Randle:** What is the position of the peasants?

**Raptis:** There are almost 600,000 poor peasants owning from half an hectare to ten hectares of land each of very poor quality. The policy of the state towards this sector of the peasantry is very important, not from an economic point of view but from a social point of view.

The policy of the state towards the peasant sector is the following:

1. To help them to modernise their production.
2. To include them for the first time in the productive process of the country, because in fact until today they have lived outside of the market;
3. To improve the land, to reclaim new land and to organise them in a system of co-operatives, and to give them help in many fields in both production and marketing.

**Randle:** Has there been any opposition by the peasants to this policy?

**Raptis:** The only opposition comes from the richest peasants; all the others have much to gain and nothing to lose.

**Randle:** Is the socialised sector, the part that has been nationalised, run completely on self-management lines, or are there various methods of organisation?

**Raptis:** Up to now the exclusive system in the nationalised agricultural sector is the system of self-management committees.

**Randle:** How are these committees elected and how do they operate?

**Raptis:** First it is important to stress that the self-management committee system in Algeria is not a doctrinal option; it was thrown up by the needs of the situation. It started as a spontaneous movement when many of the European landowners left the country between March and August 1962, leaving their properties vacant. The only answer, especially in view of the absence of an efficient administration and of technicians, was for the workers themselves to take the initiative and organise themselves to continue production.

For some time this spontaneous self-management movement remained isolated, but very soon the government, and particularly the President, realised the revolutionary importance of this movement and helped to amplify it and to institutionalise it, first by a series of decrees in October 1962 and then by what have become known as the Historic Decrees of March 1963.

**Randle:** To turn for a moment to the industrial side. How far has this been socialised?

**Raptis:** Several hundred industrial enterprises have been nationalised; some of these are small or medium

workers' council, who in turn elect the management committee which is the executive body of the workers' council. This management committee is made up of workers and its president is also a worker. The president is assisted by a director who is a technical assistant and is under the authority of the management committee, of the workers' council and of the president of the management committee. The director is nominated by the state, because he represents the state inside each farm and factory within the system. But although he is nominated by the state, his nomination must be supported by a communal council of self-management.

In each commune in Algeria we try to organise the body which consists of all the presidents of the self-management committees in the commune, plus the representative of the party, the unions, the Popular Army and the administration.

**Randle:** How often does the general assembly meet? Is there any limit to the time that the directors and the other administrators serve?

**Raptis:** The general assembly can be convened at any time by the workers' council or by the management committee and in any case must meet at least four times a year. The president and the other elected members of the management committee stay in office for three years. Each year one-third of the members of the workers' council and of the management committee must be re-elected. The self-management committee is a kind of school for the workers of Algeria. There was a danger that if all the management committee was replaced each year the work would suffer, hence the system of replacing one-third each year.

**Randle:** Could the same people go on being re-elected?

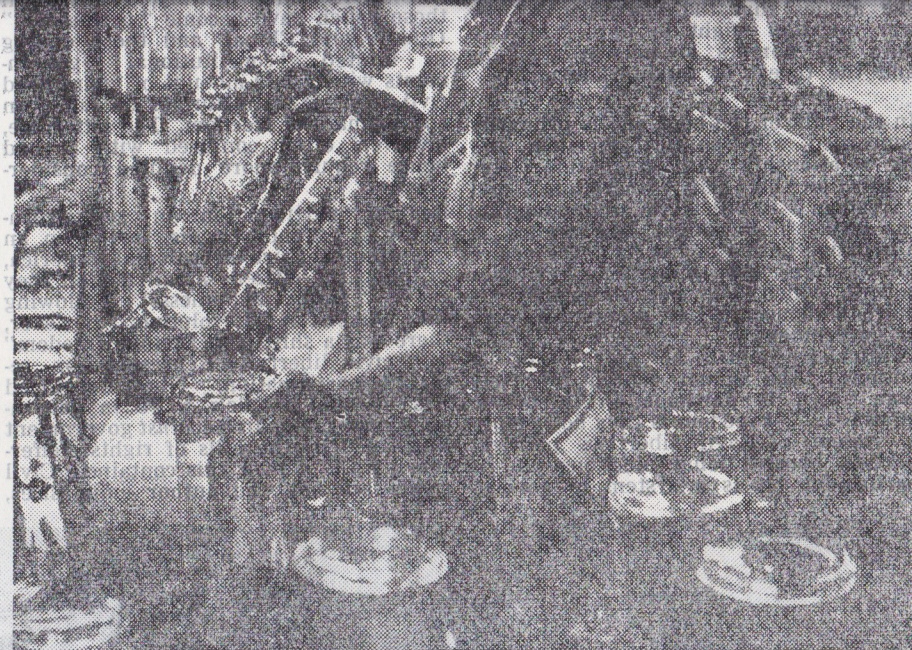
**Raptis:** No. The purpose is to bring all the workers through this self-management training. Every year a third of the people stand down and a completely new lot are elected.

**Randle:** How is this self-management system tied in to an overall planned economy?

**Raptis:** I must stress again that the self-management system in Algeria was not a doctrinal option but arose out of necessity. Even if it were correct it is not yet possible to nominate real directors, because we have not yet got real technical cadres. The only possible way of continuing production is to give a big initiative to the workers.

Algeria is undergoing a process of radical social transformation according to the pattern of a workers' state. Algeria will soon have a largely nationalised economy, planned but managed by the workers.

Everybody in Algeria understands the



necessity of a national economic plan. How can this plan be tied in with the system of self-management committees? Not by compulsion but mainly through financial means, through taxes, investment and price regulations. For instance, the state can invest a large amount of money to further the main objectives of the overall plan. The state gives preference for investment to the enterprises which are contributing most to this objective. In this way enterprises are re-orientated to accord with the national plan.

**Randle:** What about marketing arrangements? To what extent is the socialist experiment hampered in any way by the fact that the main market is still in France?

**Raptis:** A National Office of Trade is now being organised which will have some kind of monopoly of external trade. In addition the different enterprises, agricultural and industrial, will be organised into co-operatives for buying and selling; eventually the whole internal trade will be organised on a co-operative basis.

**Randle:** Have there been difficulties in internal marketing up to now?

**Raptis:** Big difficulties, especially for agricultural produce. The industrial enterprises can sell everything they produce without difficulty because of the very great scarcity of industrial products. But in the case of agriculture the main market has been an external market, namely France. The solution is being sought in two ways. Firstly, new

**Bottling plant at a lemonade factory at Blida, Algeria, run under the system of workers' management (photo by Michael Randle).**

agreements are being made with France that are more favourable to Algeria - because Algeria does not intend to cut any links with France. Secondly, new markets are being sought to diversify the external market.

**Randle:** How has the self-management experiment worked out over the last year on the farms?

**Raptis:** The results have been very, very good. Agricultural production this year was one of the best in recent years in Algeria. The weather was partly responsible for this but it was also the result of the conscientious work of the peasants.

On the industrial side we faced many difficulties because in some places the lack of cadres was a decisive factor. Industrial production did suffer after the departure of the cadres and the disorganisation of the management. But everyone is very hopeful in Algeria that in a short time we shall be able to attain again the previous average level of industrial production.

**Randle:** Have you found that there is an optimum size for agricultural and industrial undertakings or can this self-management system work no matter how large the unit?

**continued on page 10**



## Gene Sharp reviews a new book

by Hannah Arendt

# FREEDOM AND REVOLUTION

**On Revolution**, by Hannah Arendt. (New York: Viking Press, \$6.50. London: Faber and Faber, 30s.)

In this book, Hannah Arendt is primarily concerned with how political freedom can become a reality in the modern world - a world in which people are manipulated and controlled under constitutional as well as tyrannical regimes and are threatened with annihilation.

Her introduction is devoted to war and revolution which today "still constitute (the) two central issues" of our world. War can no longer defend civilians and the military has changed into "a belated and essentially futile avenger." As for revolution, the word "freedom" has even disappeared from the revolutionary vocabulary.

Dr Arendt rejects both the "better dead than red" and the "better red than dead" outlooks. In an important note she argues that the discussion of the war question ought to dare "to face both the horrors of nuclear weapons and the threat of totalitarianism."

In the bulk of the book she is primarily concerned with political freedom and its relationship with revolution. Her distinction between "liberation" and "freedom" is crucial to understanding the book. "Liberation," she argues, is a negative notion of liberty, "the desire to be free from oppression" (italics added), which does not necessarily require a democratic or republican form of government.

Political freedom is, however, a positive notion: "the actual content of freedom . . . is participation in public

life in which the citizens become 'the rulers themselves', a form of political organisation in which the citizens (live) together under conditions of no-rule, without a division between rulers and ruled" - which is *not* anarchism, she argues, as this freedom is dependent upon a system of government.

The revolutionary spirit has included both the desire to liberate and the desire "to build a new house where freedom can dwell." This was an unprecedented and unequalled attempt. But the promise has not been fulfilled and often the effort to liberate has defeated the revolution, i.e., the founding of freedom.

Various results have followed revolutions - but not freedom, which is certainly not the automatic result of liberation. The 19th and 20th century revolutions have mainly resulted in those which have become "permanent" (Russia and China), and those ending in limited "constitutional" governments with a fair amount of guaranteed civil liberties. The former do not even approximate to freedom. The latter are, however, often confused with it and hence require more detailed consideration.

Popular participation in self-government, Dr Arendt recalls, had been an important feature of colonial America, bringing the citizens a satisfaction they called "public happiness". Following the American Revolution, however, there was a shift from "public freedom" to "civil liberty". Representation replaced participation. What developed was not the people's share in govern-

ment, the same as political freedom, which means "the right 'to be a participator in government, or it means nothing."

In early America Benjamin Rush clearly stated "the new and dangerous doctrine" which argued that although "all power is derived from the people, they possess it only on the days of their elections. After this it is the property of their rulers."

There have been important gains under the two-party system (a certain control over the rulers, constitutional liberties and "private happiness"). But contrary to the popular view, Dr Arendt argues, the political parties are not instruments of popular control but rather "the very efficient instruments through which the power of the people is curtailed and controlled." Only "interest" and "welfare" can be represented, not "actions" and "opinions".

The contradiction between public freedom and the political order arising from the revolution was much sharper in France. The aim of constitutional government, said Robespierre, was the preservation of a new republic founded to establish political freedom. But then he added, "it is almost enough to protect individuals against the abuses of public power." In the latter situation, power is still public but the individual has become powerless. Freedom is then no longer a public but a private matter.

"Freedom and power have parted company, and the fateful equating of power with violence, of the political with government, and of government with a necessary evil has begun."

the public liberty' or 'preserve the spirit of resistance' to whatever government they have elected, since the only power they retain is 'the reserve power of revolution'."

America became then predominantly the promised land of plenty for Europe's poor. The "taste for public freedom" - while not completely lost - was no longer prominent as the individual withdrew into his private domain. It is uncertain, she says, how much of what is left of the notion of political freedom will survive under the influence of affluence.

Why did the revolutions which sought freedom not lead to freedom? Presented systematically, there are seven often inter-related problems which, Dr Arendt argues, hold the explanation.

1. **Violence.** The violence which has occurred and has been assumed to be necessary in liberation and revolutionary movements has been, the author is convinced, a major reason why they have failed to achieve political freedom. There have been four main reasons for this violence:

(a) It has been assumed that the beginning of something new "must be intimately connected with violence. . . ." However, she argues, violence can sweep away but cannot create. A new free political order can come only by deliberate creative efforts, "by men in common deliberation and on the strength of mutual pledges."

(b) It has been wrongly assumed that violence produces power. But power,



she argues that the discussion of war question ought to dare "to face both the horrors of nuclear weapons and the threat of totalitarianism."

In the bulk of the book she is primarily concerned with political freedom and its relationship with revolution. Her distinction between "liberation" and "freedom" is crucial to understanding the book. "Liberation," she argues, is a negative notion of liberty, "the desire to be free from oppression" (italics added), which does not necessarily require a democratic or republican form of government.

Political freedom is, however, a positive notion: "the actual content of freedom . . . is participation in public affairs. . . ." Freedom is thus not simply a system of civil liberties, political parties, constitutional elections and a parliament. It is a system of govern-

those which have become "permanent" (Russia and China), and those ending in limited "constitutional" governments with a fair amount of guaranteed civil liberties. The former do not even approximate to freedom. The latter are, however, often confused with it and hence require more detailed consideration.

Popular participation in self-government, Dr Arendt recalls, had been an important feature of colonial America, bringing the citizens a satisfaction they called "public happiness". Following the American Revolution, however, there was a shift from "public freedom" to "civil liberty". Representation replaced participation. What developed was not the people's share in government but safeguards against government illustrated by the bills of rights. Jefferson saw the danger this contained. Civil rights are not, the author emphasises,

The contradiction between public freedom and the political order arising from the revolution was much sharper in France. The aim of constitutional government, said Robespierre, was the preservation of a new republic founded to establish political freedom. But then he added, "it is almost enough to protect individuals against the abuses of public power." In the latter situation, power is still public but the individual has become powerless. Freedom is then no longer a public but a private matter.

"Freedom and power have parted company, and the fateful equating of power with violence, of the political with government, and of government with a necessary evil has begun."

Representative government means, argues the author (quoting Jefferson) "that the people must either sink into lethargy, the forerunner of death to

1. Violence. The violence which has occurred and has been assumed to be necessary in liberation and revolutionary movements has been, the author is convinced, a major reason why they have failed to achieve political freedom. There have been four main reasons for this violence:

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(b) It has been wrongly assumed that violence produces power. But power, she argues, comes from the mutual assistance and loyalty of people binding themselves together for some purpose.

(c) Violence and terror in revolutions followed, she maintains, the introduction of the "social question" (especially poverty) into the attempt to establish political freedom. Rage and compassion led to the demand "for swift and direct action, that is, for action with the means of violence."

(This part of Dr Arendt's analysis is, in my opinion, the least adequate in the book. She does not mention the relevant frequently close relationship between economic and political control. Struggles of the poor do not inevitably produce terror. Compassion and rage do not always lead to violence. And swift direct action can be non-violent. This does not, however, invalidate the overall analysis of the book as her point is not that the social question directly leads to disaster in the revolution, but that it leads to violence and terror, and "it is terror which sends revolutions to their doom. . . .")

(d) Revolutionaries have often lost their capacity to see people as human beings and have become cruel, not hesitating to sacrifice people "to their principles", or to the course of history, or to the cause of revolution as such."

Thomas Jefferson, left, in the committee reviewing the draft of the American Declaration of Independence which Jefferson had prepared. After retirement from active political life, Jefferson argued that local units of self-government must be incorporated in the new system of state and federal constitutions. He saw these as a peaceful alternative to recurring revolutions.







A meeting of Bolsheviks in Moscow on June 18, 1917. Hannah Arendt states that various results have followed revolutions, but not freedom. The "permanent" revolutions in Russia and China do not even approximate to freedom. It was the Bolsheviks, she says, who destroyed the soviets.

their appearance in every genuine revolution throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." They appeared in Paris under Prussian siege in 1870; more important, they were present in the Parisian Commune of 1871, the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, in Germany in 1918-1919, and in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

Contrary to the expectations of the professional revolutionaries, these new instruments of popular self-government did not regard themselves as mere temporary instruments but "clearly intended to survive the revolution," the author points out. This development contradicted the theories of the professional revolutionaries and what is more important, the assumptions about the nature of power which they shared with the former rulers. They had thought of revolution as a seizure of power, and this, they had imagined, meant a monopoly of the means of violence.

But both had disintegrated and a new power structure had been formed. With no power left to seize, "they could only impose their party organisation in the place of the defunct government or simply join the new revolutionary power centres which had sprung up without their help." The professional revolutionaries generally did not understand that out of the revolution had emerged "an entirely new form of government, with a new public space for freedom."

Professional revolutionaries and anarchists alike failed to grasp the importance of these developments. Parties of the "left" and the "right" both opposed this development. (The soviets were destroyed by the Bolsheviks.) Statesmen, historians and political theorists have ignored these organs of direct democracy.

Direct democracy under modern conditions is usually rejected by "realists" who, Dr Arendt continues, assume a necessary cleavage between "the party experts" who "know" and the mass of people who are to "do". This cleavage, however, has ignored "the average citizen's capacity to act and to form his own opinion. . . . Wherever knowing and doing have parted company, the

2. *Rigidity.* Rigidity in the thought of the professional revolutionaries has helped to prevent the achievement of freedom. Revolutions are not the work of professional revolutionaries, but the withdrawal of support and obedience by the citizens, especially the armed forces. But in the resulting instability the professional revolutionaries have become influential and risen to power.

Their influence, however, is invariably exerted in accordance with the past pattern of revolution - especially the French Revolution which itself disintegrated into a chaos of internal and international violence, leading not to freedom but to a new dictatorship and war. Yet from this revolution the professional revolutionaries "learned" how to make a revolution, imitating the "necessary" course of events. Other

fering regimes which have followed revolutions have all continued the division - so dangerous for freedom - between the rulers and the ruled. This division, Dr Arendt argues, need not exist; she affirms that a modern political system could be developed in which in political matters people become their own rulers.

7. *Theory.* A last reason why revolutions have not achieved political freedom has been the failure to develop the theory appropriate to that system. Concepts and theories have important practical consequences, she insists. Without the development of theory and preservation of the memory of experience in political freedom there are no guideposts for the future. Instead we get the "automatic thought-reactions" and the automatic following of the sterile

people to be republicans and act as citizens, to participate in public business even though the county, state and federal governments were too large to permit immediate participation of all. Thus, Jefferson argued, "these little republics would be the main strength of the great one . . ." and would be part of a wider system.

"The elementary republics of the wards, the county republics, the State republics, and the republic of the Union would form a gradation of authorities, standing each on the basis of law, holding every one its delegated share of powers, and constituting truly a system of fundamental balances and checks for the government."

This system would prevent tyranny, Jefferson wrote, for with every citizen feeling he is a "participant in the



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Their influence, however, is invariably exerted in accordance with the past pattern of revolution - especially the French Revolution which itself disintegrated into a chaos of internal and international violence, leading not to freedom but to a new dictatorship and war. Yet from this revolution the professional revolutionaries "learned" how to make a revolution, imitating the "necessary" course of events. Other experience was ignored.

3. *Authority.* To last, a new body politic must have "authority" - i.e. belief in its legitimacy - and every revolution therefore faces the problem of how to make the new order legitimate. The abstract concepts of the "nation" or "revolution" (or a combination of them) have usually replaced religion and the absolute sovereign as an absolute source of authority. This has, however, contributed to despotism, not to freedom. Contrary to the usual assumption, one need not search for an "absolute" to provide the necessary authority. It can come instead "from below", from the people coming together and themselves founding their new political order. Such authority is compatible with freedom.

4. *Sovereignty.* There has been in revolutions a failure to think afresh about the problem of sovereignty, i.e. the idea that there exists what Burlamaqui called "an ultimate right of command in society" deriving from a transcendent principle, with absolute authority and bestowing the right of control and coercion of the citizens without the right of resistance. In the French Revolution the doctrine was never really attacked, and the abstraction *le peuple* ("the people" as a unity and with one will) simply replaced the king. "... perhaps the greatest American innovation in politics as such was the consistent abolition of sovereignty within the body politic of the republic, the insight that in the realm of human affairs sovereignty and tyranny are the same."

5. *Creativity.* Revolutionaries have also failed to establish a new order which is both lasting and creatively adaptable. Instead, either freedom has been destroyed in the effort to preserve the new order against change, or by the effort to ensure continuous minority-directed change on the non-participating citizens.

6. *Government.* Despite the aim of establishing political freedom, the dif-

sion - so between the rulers and the ruled. This division, Dr Arendt argues, need not exist; she affirms that a modern political system could be developed in which in political matters people become their own rulers.

7. *Theory.* A last reason why revolutions have not achieved political freedom has been the failure to develop the theory appropriate to that system. Concepts and theories have important practical consequences, she insists. Without the development of theory and preservation of the memory of experience in political freedom there are no guideposts for the future. Instead we get the "automatic thought-reactions" and the automatic following of the sterile tradition of the French Revolution. Political freedom in the future may therefore in large degree depend upon the development of political thought on how to achieve, operate and preserve a society characterised by political freedom.

Revolutions have thus failed to establish political freedom for reasons which reach down into the very nature of politics itself. There is obviously no ready-made system which can be adopted overnight. But, Dr Arendt argues, there exist very important contributions to a solution. There is experience - and a very little theory - which give us some directions. The experiences she lists are European and American, though examples could also have come from non-Western sources.

There has been important modern experience with direct participating democracy in the course of various revolutionary situations which, Dr Arendt maintains, indicates the beginnings of a new system of government. Such a system, she argues, could potentially avoid the dangers of violent revolution, successfully solve the above listed problems, prevent tyranny, and also transcend the limitations of party-parliamentary government.

This experience with the germ of an alternative political system is drawn from America, France, Russia, Germany, and Hungary.

Colonial America had considerable experience with direct participating self-government without a division between the ruler and the ruled. But when the state and federal constitutions were established, the local units of direct self-government were not incorporated in the new political system.

After retirement from active political life, Jefferson argued that these "elementary republics" must be incorporated in the new system, seeing them as a peaceful alternative to his earlier notion of necessary recurring revolutions. The small units would enable

ness even though the county, state and federal governments were too large to permit immediate participation of all. Thus, Jefferson argued, "these little republics would be the main strength of the great one . . ." and would be part of a wider system.

"The elementary republics of the wards, the county republics, the State republics, and the republic of the Union would form a gradation of authorities, standing each on the basis of law, holding every one its delegated share of powers, and constituting truly a system of fundamental balances and checks for the government."

This system would prevent tyranny, Jefferson wrote, for with every citizen feeling he is a "participator in the government of affairs" and "a member of some one of its councils, great or small, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than his power wrested from him by a Caesar or a Bonaparte."

In France there emerged in the course of the Revolution (rather than prior to it as in America) bodies of popular participation which were "the unexpected and largely spontaneous outcome of the Revolution itself." These were the Parisian Commune (with its 48 sections) and the *sociétés populaires* (which spread all over France). Collot d'Hervois wrote that the societies "openly aimed at the establishment of a new federalism."

These organs of direct self-government each possessed a power structure of its own and together they diffused power throughout the political society, removing the distinction between the ruler and the ruled. This popular movement was a clear danger to centralised state power, constituting the first beginnings "of a true republic." There was, therefore, a conflict between the communal movement of popular self-government and the revolutionary parties committed to centralism and seeking control for themselves. This was not, Dr Arendt insists, a fight between the street and the body politic, but "the conflict between the people and a mercilessly centralised power apparatus."

Both Robespierre and Saint-Just once supported the popular bodies, but when they came to power they assisted in their destruction. The Jacobin government and the parties infiltrated these bodies and having destroyed them from within, transformed them into organs of the parties and the central government and into instruments of terror. Freedom then ceased to be public and was left only the area of one's private life. Both Jefferson's plan (and American colonial experience) and the French experience anticipated the emergence of similar bodies, the workers' councils, *soviets* and *Räte*, "which were to make

Professional revolutionaries and anarchists alike failed to grasp the importance of these developments. Parties of the "left" and the "right" both opposed this development. (The soviets were destroyed by the Bolsheviks.) Statesmen, historians and political theorists have ignored these organs of direct democracy.

Direct democracy under modern conditions is usually rejected by "realists" who, Dr Arendt continues, assume a necessary cleavage between "the party experts" who "know" and the mass of people who are to "do". This cleavage, however, has ignored "the average citizen's capacity to act and to form his own opinion. . . . Wherever knowing and doing have parted company, the space of freedom is lost." This "realism" has ignored the reality of the councils, Dr Arendt maintains, and has assumed "that there is not, and never has been, any alternative to the present system."

The council system, however, is as old as the party system. Although ignored, without a conscious tradition, an organised influence or a developed theory, this system repeatedly emerged spontaneously. It has given the hope of "a new form of government that would permit every member of the modern egalitarian society to become a 'participator' in public affairs. . . ." And it was this hope "that was buried in the disasters of the twentieth-century revolutions." Buried, perhaps, but Dr Arendt's whole discussion is based upon the conviction that this hope is not dead and may yet revivify politics and establish a new system of government going beyond limited constitutional government to a system of genuine political freedom.

The councils have combined stability with capacity for creative change. While being organs of action they have also been organs of order. They sought, not to bring in a utopia, but to lay the foundations of a new republic which would establish freedom and end forever the era of invasions and civil wars. Witnesses to this development, Antweiler has written, "could sense the emergence and the formation of a force which one day might be able to effect the transformation of the State." Both the 1917 Russian Revolution and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution showed, Dr Arendt continues, the bare outlines of the emergence of a government based on the council system, as the local councils quickly began "a process of co-ordination and integration through the formation of higher councils of a regional or provincial character, from which the delegates to an assembly representing the whole country could be chosen."

continued overleaf



## AN ANATOMY OF FOREIGN AID - 6

Michael Barratt Brown

Aid is all very well for the hungry nations, but if they cannot get advantageous terms for their trade with richer countries, they may still become poorer and poorer. Michael Barratt Brown shows how economic decisions taken in Europe affect the lives of millions of people in the underdeveloped countries.

I have to confess at once that for a long time now my favourite economic reading matter has been in the reports of the United Nations economists in New York and in the UN regional economic commissions. It is not simply that the style is lucid and the facts are well marshalled; what is much more, they have been forced to develop a new framework of economic theory, which has been expounded with most distinction by Dr Gunnar Myrdal<sup>1</sup> and Mr Sidney Dell.<sup>2</sup> In this theoretical framework the economics of advanced industrial lands are the special case, as Mr Dudley Seers has recently emphasised<sup>3</sup>, and not the general assumption.

The result is that they provide a refreshingly, if often frighteningly, world-oriented picture of current human history. Even with the time lag inevitable in the compilation of world statistics, the movement of a single figure in a United Nations' economic index - for example in that of the terms of trade of manufactured and primary products - can tell us more of the trend of international events than a hundred correspondents' reports in the press.

Thus, the latest *Bulletin of the Economic Commission for Europe*<sup>4</sup> introduces a study of "Recent Changes in Europe's Trade" and "Recent Economic Developments in Europe" with the comment that the recovery of world manufacturing activity in 1962 after the relative stagnation in 1961 could be expected to lead with a slight time-lag, to renewed growth in world trade in 1963 perhaps of the order of 10%. It goes on to say:

"Imports into developed countries from developing countries are closely geared to changes in economic activity in the former group; and im-

ports, but the meaning, I hope, is clear. The developed countries make the running, but with unplanned world trade, developed and developing countries depend on each other's responses for sustained advance. Growth begets growth, but a check to growth starts a vicious spiral of decline.

From 1951 to 1962 the terms of trade of the developing lands suffered a steady decline. Though world trade grew with each expansion of manufacturing output, most of the trade growth, even in primary products (including food), has been taking place in the developed lands. The volume of imports of primary products by the more developed lands from the less developed lands in the 1950s hardly grew, except in the case of petroleum. This is the conclusion of the UN's 1962 *World Economic Survey* of "The Developing Countries in World Trade".<sup>5</sup> As a result, over the decade the developed lands raised their share of world trade from 60% to 67%, while the developing lands' share fell from 30% to 20%, the difference being made up by the increased share of the Communist countries. The developing lands have increasingly depended on aid and on using up their reserves to finance the imports from the developed lands for their industrialisation programmes.

The UN *Economic Commission for Europe Bulletin* notes that much of the growth in world trade has taken place in Europe, East and West, which now accounts for 52% of the total. 37% consists of trade between countries inside Europe and 10% of trade inside the Common Market itself. Trade between the West and East of Europe remains small, accounting for 17% of

# The anarchy of world trade

expands, in the EEC by 15% per year and in Eastern Europe including the USSR at a not much lower rate. But there is a significant difference on the two sides: while nearly all of the EEC growth in trade is taking place inside the Common Market itself, much of the East European growth is outside the rouble bloc. The share of East Europe's trade with less developed countries rose from 7% to 10% of the totals between 1959 and 1962, while the share of EEC trade with such countries fell over the same period from 25% to 18%.

For once I have a serious criticism of the UN Economic Commission for Europe's survey. Throughout most of the tables of statistics and in the argument in the text, the EEC is not distinguished from the rest of Western Europe. But it is increasingly necessary, after Britain's failure to enter, that this distinction should be made, and for two reasons: first, with the lowering of tariffs and the harmonising of policies inside the Common Market the trade of the EEC countries with each other increasingly takes on the character of internal trade. (Of course, it is still possible, but I think unlikely, that the whole market will break up, if West Germany refuses to give France her *quid pro quo* of expanding French agricultural exports in exchange for the already expanding German industrial exports.)

Secondly, lumping the EEC in with the rest of Western Europe conceals the fact that it is the failure of EEC trade to grow outside the Common Market itself (and EEC trade with developing lands looks pretty small when the growing trade, particularly in petroleum products, with North Africa is excluded), which is the main cause of the apparent growing self-sufficiency of Western Europe. For, it is noteworthy that the UK share of trade with developing lands has not fallen in recent years. Neither has it grown, because our whole trade and our whole economy has been

conclusions, particularly in the event of a slackening of economic activity in Western Europe.

Continued growth in the developed countries thus becomes the crucial question. Industrial output in West Europe, having eased off over 1962, began to rise again in the second quarter of 1963 and the rise seems to have been maintained in the third quarter. What is most important, however, for the developing lands is that the rise has taken place largely where imports from the developing lands are least required, that is in the public sector and in motor vehicle output, and not in consumer goods. There is still much surplus capacity in Western Europe and little demand for capital equipment therefore. "Individual governments are," in the words of the *Bulletin*:

"waiting for others to pursue a more rapid expansion, but are not willing to pioneer in this direction at the risk of being left with too high domestic price and cost levels, rising imports and reduced competitiveness in export markets."

There you have it! A more perfect statement of the destructive anarchy of the capitalist world market could hardly be found. For, at the same time the sales and prices of the developing lands in world trade, which had for the first time since 1951 begun to improve in line with growth in the developed lands, are easing once more. Will it be to advance further or to fall back again? The lives of tens of millions of people, perhaps of even more, depend on a decision. But no government will decide; each waits for the others to move and none will take the first steps towards international co-operation which would create the conditions for common advance.

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3. Dudley Seers, "The Limitations of the Special Case," in *The Bulletin of the E.C.E.*



# The anarchy of world trade

Michael Barratt Brown

Aid is all very well for the hungry nations, but if they cannot get advantageous terms for their trade with richer countries, they may still become poorer and poorer. Michael Barratt Brown shows how economic decisions taken in Europe affect the lives of millions of people in the underdeveloped countries.

I have to confess at once that for a long time now my favourite economic reading matter has been in the reports of the United Nations economists in New York and in the UN regional economic commissions. It is not simply that the style is lucid and the facts are well marshalled; what is much more, they have been forced to develop a new framework of economic theory, which has been expounded with most distinction by Dr Gunnar Myrdal<sup>1</sup> and Mr Sidney Dell.<sup>2</sup> In this theoretical framework the economics of advanced industrial lands are the special case, as Mr Dudley Seers has recently emphasised<sup>3</sup>, and not the general assumption.

The result is that they provide a refreshingly, if often frighteningly, world-oriented picture of current human history. Even with the time lag inevitable in the compilation of world statistics, the movement of a single figure in a United Nations' economic index - for example in that of the terms of trade of manufactured and primary products - can tell us more of the trend of international events than a hundred correspondents' reports in the press.

Thus, the latest *Bulletin of the Economic Commission for Europe*<sup>4</sup> introduces a study of "Recent Changes in Europe's Trade" and "Recent Economic Developments in Europe" with the comment that the recovery of world manufacturing activity in 1962 after the relative stagnation in 1961 could be expected to lead with a slight time-lag, to renewed growth in world trade in 1963 perhaps of the order of 10%. It goes on to say:

"Imports into developed countries from developing countries are closely geared to changes in economic activity in the former group; and imports into developing countries from the developed depend largely on the export volume of the former group, multiplied by their terms of trade."

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but the meaning, I hope, is clear. The developed countries make the running, but with unplanned world trade, developed and developing countries depend on each other's responses for sustained advance. Growth begets growth, but a check to growth starts a vicious spiral of decline.

From 1951 to 1962 the terms of trade of the developing lands suffered a steady decline. Though world trade grew with each expansion of manufacturing output, most of the trade growth, even in primary products (including food), has been taking place in the developed lands. The volume of imports of primary products by the more developed lands from the less developed lands in the 1950s hardly grew, except in the case of petroleum. This is the conclusion of the UN's 1962 *World Economic Survey* of "The Developing Countries in World Trade".<sup>5</sup> As a result, over the decade the developed lands raised their share of world trade from 60% to 67%, while the developing lands' share fell from 30% to 20%, the difference being made up by the increased share of the Communist countries. The developing lands have increasingly depended on aid and on using up their reserves to finance the imports from the developed lands for their industrialisation programmes.

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4. United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, *Economic Bulletin for Europe*, Vol. 1915, No. 4, Geneva, November 1963.

5. United Nations, *World Economic Survey* 1962, New York, 1963.

FREEDOM AND  
REVOLUTION

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as in Russia following the 1917 revolution. Or how an established council system is to defend itself from foreign troops of a neighbouring dictatorship - as in Hungary in 1956. The council

the very theory of power which Dr Arendt presents. "power comes into being only if and when men join themselves together for the purpose of action, and will disappear when



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4. United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, *Economic Bulletin for Europe*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Geneva, November 1963.
5. United Nations, *World Economic Survey* 1962, New York, 1963.

## FREEDOM AND REVOLUTION

from page 7

Hannah Arendt acknowledges limitations to the council system. These include past failure to distinguish between participation and administration. She also - I think too quickly - brushes aside workers' control in industry, arguing that management of factories is not an appropriate area for direct participation of the people involved in the enterprise. Many people, she acknowledges, would not wish to take part in political deliberations; they would not be forced to do so, although they should always have the opportunity to do so. The author does not imply that there would be no serious problems under the proposed new system. But she does point insistently to the importance of serious attention to the means by which public freedom may be achieved in our world - if indeed it is to be achieved at all. Wisely, she recognises that the council system cannot be imposed on people from without, but must, if it is to be genuine and lasting, grow from them. She therefore concludes that it is best to say with Jefferson: "Begin them only for a single purpose; they will soon show for what others they are the best instruments." In a participating, creative political order, men have the opportunity, says Dr Arendt, to achieve a genuine satisfaction and happiness which can be gained in no other way.

details rather than coming to grips with what the author is saying. Both *On Revolution* and *Eichmann in Jerusalem*\* are too important for that. Our basic responsibility is to think about what she is saying, and therefore I have devoted so much space to the simple presentation of her thought.

There is, however, one question arising from *On Revolution* which needs fuller exploration. Dr Arendt - at least at the time the book was written, in 1960-61 - does not distinguish sufficiently between the structure of political organisation on the one hand and techniques of struggle and sanctions on the other. She gives the impression that the alternative to political violence is the council system, which can be only partly true. The provision *only* of an alternative form of government is an incomplete solution to the problems Dr Arendt poses. The council system is a possible substitute for other types of government. Violence for political ends, however, though intimately connected with certain types of government, is not a form of political organisation. Violence is in politics a technique of action, a means of struggle, and the usual ultimate sanction used to preserve a political system against attack or to impose its will upon certain dissident members of the society. The council system is not, therefore, the exact counterpart and substitute for political violence.

The problem is illustrated if we ask how a widespread council system of government is to defend itself against the political police and troops of professional revolutionaries seeking to impose a centralised one-party system.

\*London: Faber and Faber, 25s.

as in Russia following the 1917 revolution. Or how an established council system is to defend itself from foreign troops of a neighbouring dictatorship - as in Hungary in 1956. The council system is then *by itself* an inadequate answer. There must also be a technique of struggle which is both effective and compatible with that system of government, i.e., which is compatible with freedom, popular participation and the diffusion of power.

Basically, a technique of struggle and such sanctions can only be either violent or non-violent. The councils are probably unsuited to wielding effectively the modern forms of warfare against formidable opponents, and if they were, the strong centralising tendencies of such violence could weaken the council system itself. Guerilla warfare is a possible answer, but it presents other difficulties. Another possibility is non-violent action, which of course requires further development and attention to difficult problems it would pose.

Violence in politics is not - as Dr Arendt sometimes gives the impression - simply the result of irrational rage. Violence - as she would probably agree - is often intended to be instrumental in achieving some desired goal. Doubtless some such ultimate sanction, reserved as a threat or used in struggle, is necessary for all political societies, no matter how limited or widespread territorially, and no matter how tyrannical or how free. If that sanction is not to be violence - which the author blames for much of the disasters of revolution - then it apparently must take a non-violent form.

Non-violent action is in fact based upon

the very theory of power which Dr Arendt presents: "... power comes into being only if and when men join themselves together for the purpose of action, and will disappear when they disperse and desert one another." "... human power ... is simply non-existent unless it can rely on others; the most powerful king and the least scrupulous of all tyrants are helpless if no one obeys them, that is, supports them through obedience; for, in politics, obedience and support are the same."

A non-violent technique of struggle based upon this theory exists and is being developed. This means that - contrary to the view expressed in *On Revolution* - "war" and "revolution" without violence are possible. (In fact one of the classics on this technique is titled *War Without Violence*.)

Attention is need both to the question of the structure of a society which is compatible with political freedom and to the question of the technique of struggle and sanctions relied upon by a society. Usually both of these aspects have been largely ignored as few people have been able to move far outside the political assumptions of our own society. Now Hannah Arendt has opened the discussion of political organisation, just as Joan Bondurant in her *Conquest of Violence*\* opened the discussion of the technique of action.

But both books are intended only to open a rethinking of politics in light of the inadequacies of traditional thought and practice, and in face of the dual problems of modern war and totalitarianism. They are challenges which wait to be accepted.

\*London: Oxford University Press, 1958.

It is easy with any book to argue about



# Cuba marchers go back to jail in Albany

Seven Quebec-Cuba marchers were arrested on Monday, February 3, for vigiling and leafleting outside Turner Air Force base near Albany. Five of them were tried on February 4 and were sentenced to 30 days for "parading without a permit" and "refusing the lawful order of a police officer." Two girls who were also arrested refused to co-operate in their trial and were carried to court. When they refused to walk to the front of the court, City Recorder Durden said that they would not receive trial until they were prepared to co-operate.

On Wednesday, February 5, Eric Robinson was tried for "disorderly conduct and failing to obey a police officer." He

had been taken into custody the previous Monday when he went to the city hall to ask Albany's Police Chief, Laurie Pritchett, what charges were entered against the seven marchers arrested earlier that day. In court, Pritchett contended that Robinson's manner had been "argumentative and belligerent." Robinson testified that his manner had been peaceful and was backed up in this by Dr Arthur Samuels, a New York professor of biophysics, who had accompanied him. Dr Samuels described the arrest as an "arbitrary use of police state tactics." Robinson was found guilty and sentenced to 30 days. In addition he was ordered to serve the remaining 11 days of an earlier probationary sentence arising from his participation in the first attempted march through Albany on December 23.

In a second trial on February 5, nine walkers who had been arrested for the second attempt to march through Albany on January 27 were sentenced to 30 days and one of them, Edith Snyder, was ordered to serve the 11 days revoked probation from the first attempted march. Seven people who had taken part in the second march, but who refused to walk to the court, were told that they might be held in jail indefinitely if they did not co-operate. They would not be tried, said the judge, until they notified him in writing of their willingness to do this.

On February 5, when the last information was sent to *Peace News*, 25 marchers were in jail and 19 of them were fasting. Joe Tuchinsky, a member of the group, was allowed to speak to all those in Albany jail for the first time in more than a week, since the police chief denied them visitors and mail privileges. He found that five seemed in dangerously weak condition from the hunger strike. Four of these fasted during their imprisonment from December 23 to January 16 and their health had not returned to normal before they began their new fast.

The arrest of the 17 marchers on January 27 who attempted to parade the main streets of Albany was ostensibly for parading "without a permit" as was the arrest of 23 marchers on December 23. The members of the march believe that "the actual reason for arrest is the city's desire to suppress demonstrations by the Albany movement for civil rights, which has also been stopped from orderly picketing

## 'I will burn myself'



The Rev B. Elton Cox of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who said recently that he will publicly burn himself to death if "it will help the cause of integration."

## Cuban trawlers: US in doubt

As late as last Friday US officials were publicly voicing their suspicions that Cuba had sent four trawlers into US territorial waters in order to provoke a series of incidents against the US base at Guantanamo. The trawlers were impounded and 36 fishermen were arrested for allegedly violating US territorial waters.

"US officials now no longer believe (this) was part of some machiavellian plot against . . . the base," reported Richard Scott in last Monday's *Guardian*. "The administration now admits . . . that the Cuban authorities gave notice as long ago as December 9 that the Cuban fishing fleet intended to fish in the Gulf of Mexico off the US coast. As far as Washington is concerned the four trawlers and 36 fishermen should be sent back to Cuba as soon as possible. The fishermen are out of federal control and under that of the Florida state authorities who, commented Richard Scott, "seem bent on imposing the full penalties of the local laws."

The US Embassy Press Office told *Peace News* last Monday that the US administration was now "inclined to doubt" the theories of deliberate Cuban provocation. The Cuban authorities had indeed given notice (through Swiss diplomatic channels) that Cuban ships would return to "traditional Cuban fishing waters" in the Gulf of Mexico, but had

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Hugh Brock writes: Ten British peace . . .



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## It's started all over again

The final figure for the 1963 Peace News Fund was £4,582.

To reach a figure like this - and we have to do it again this year - we need a good start to the year and a steady effort over the months that are ahead.

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## Defence revolt by Swedish MPs

A group of 31 Swedish socialist MPs have "quite unexpectedly" flouted their own party whips and refused to sanction the planned increase of 151 million kroner in the 1964-65 defence budget, reports Henry Whyte in the Swedish peace movement journal *Freden* of February 8. The increase is in accordance with the current defence agreement between the government and the non-socialist opposition parties, which



The Rev B. Elton Cox of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who said recently that he will publicly burn himself to death if "it will help the cause of integration."

## 'Pilgrims of penitence' leave for Dresden

*Hugh Brock writes:* Ten British pacifists left London on Tuesday for East Germany to take part in the commemoration of the bombing of the city of Dresden. Over 100,000 people were killed there as the result of an allied raid on February 13, 1945.

Before they left London on what they described as a "pilgrimage of penitence" organised by the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, the group said:

"We do not go merely to apologise for what was done to Dresden that night . . . our concern is much wider. In war there are many greater and lesser Dresdens. We go admitting our involvement in all the things that lead to Dresden 1945 and beyond."

Plans had been made for the group to be received by the City Council and to speak at a mass meeting in the main square.

Bailey, Anglican priest, Rev R. J. Billington, Methodist minister. Lay members of the group include a student, Elizabeth Phelps, a railway worker, Jack Nutley, a secretary, Anita Hicks, a retired teacher, Gladys Jeffery, and the secretary of For, Max Parker.

In London last night a service was being held at the St George's German Church in the East End at the same time as a service in Dresden was being attended by Christians of all denominations.

## Verdict 'totally wrong' - judge

A South African judge commented in the Supreme Court Circuit Division on January 30 that a jury's verdict in find-



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To reach a figure like this - and we have to do it again this year - we need a good start to the year and a steady effort over the months that are ahead. A reader in Harpenden gives a good lead. He writes, sending us thirty shillings: "I have collected it from what I have been able to save whenever I have been given lunch or offered a lift into work, really a very painless way of saving money."

If you're saving money now, you've probably got the summer holidays in mind. But - despite our gratitude to all the people who brought last year's total so near the target - we still have to ask for more.

THE EDITOR

total since February 8

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The 31 socialist MPs say that it is an anomaly for a peaceful country like Sweden to increase her defence budget at a time when the major powers are reducing theirs. Their motion opposing the increase will be taken up in the spring session of parliament; Henry Whyte predicts that it will "certainly give rise to intense debate."

The Defence Minister, Sven Anderson, maintains that if Sweden reduces its defences, the country will constitute a power vacuum which a major foreign state would feel inevitably urged to fill. "This revolt of the 31 MPs," comments Henry Whyte, "is symptomatic of the differences within the Social-Democratic party on the defence issue. A further motion by a small group of pacifist MPs urging that Sweden say no to atomic weapons and urging a reduction of the defence budget, which normally would pass fairly unnoticed, will now help to strengthen the case for a thoroughgoing ventilation of the defence issue."



The Rev B. Elton Cox of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who said recently that he will publicly burn himself to death if "it will help the cause of integration."

## 'Pilgrims of penitence' leave for Dresden

Hugh Brock writes: Ten British pacifists left London on Tuesday for East Germany to take part in the commemoration of the bombing of the city of Dresden. Over 100,000 people were killed there as the result of an allied raid on February 13, 1945.

Before they left London on what they described as a "pilgrimage of penitence" organised by the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, the group said:

"We do not go merely to apologise for what was done to Dresden that night . . . our concern is much wider. In war there are many greater and lesser Dresdens. We go admitting our involvement in all the things that lead to Dresden 1945 and beyond."

Plans had been made for the group to be received by the City Council and to speak at a mass meeting in the main square.

Members of the deputation, which is led by the Rev David Holt Roberts, vice-chairman of the British FoR, are Professor E. Gordon Rupp, University of Manchester, Rev Clifford Macquire, editor of *Reconciliation*, Rev Anthony

## South Africa: 49 assaults alleged

Forty-nine complaints of assaults by policemen or warders on 90-day detainees in South Africa have been made since last May, Mr Vorster, the Minister of Justice, told Mrs Helen Suzman, the only Progressive Party MP, in the South African Parliament on January 31.

Twenty-three people said they had been hit or kicked, 20 said they had been given electric shocks and three others complained of other assaults.

Mr Vorster said that investigation of 32 of the complaints had been completed and 17 were still being investigated. He went on to say that none of the cases had been found to have "substance."

Bailey, Anglican priest, Rev R. J. Billington, Methodist minister. Lay members of the group include a student, Elizabeth Phelps, a railway worker, Jack Nutley, a secretary, Anita Hicks, a retired teacher, Gladys Jeffery, and the secretary of FoR, Max Parker.

In London last night a service was being held at the St George's German Church in the East End at the same time as a service in Dresden was being attended by Christians of all denominations.

## Verdict 'totally wrong' - judge

A South African judge commented in the Supreme Court Circuit Division on January 30 that a jury's verdict in finding two men "not guilty" of murdering an African was "totally wrong."

Ivan Hardwich, a European, and Nopol-she Dumase, an African, both officials of the Forestry Department, were charged with murdering Ngakanana Sihlanu, an African, in the Elliottsdale district of the Transkei during May last year. They pleaded "not guilty."

Before discharging the two men, reported the *Natal Mercury* on January 31, Mr Justice Jennet said: "It is not my practice to comment on a jury's decision, but in this case I am going to do so. The verdict is totally wrong and I am prepared to go on record as having said so."

In his summing up the judge said it was common cause that Sihlanu had died of a bullet wound caused by a shot fired by Hardwich, but the jury had to decide whether it was a lawful or an unlawful shooting.

One of the most important features of the case, he said, was that Sihlanu was shot in the back.

The defence had argued that Hardwich had fired in self defence when he and Dumase were attacked in the forest.



Lewis Nkosi

# Understanding African politics

**Democracy in Africa**, by Sir W. Ivor Jennings. (Oxford University Press, 5s.)

The difficulty I personally find with Sir Ivor Jennings' booklet on the problems of constitutional development in Africa is not one of agreeing with his views, some of which, broadly speaking, sound sensible enough; the problem I find with the book is, in fact, partly of Sir Ivor's making. He seems to have gone out of his way to write a book which scrupulously avoids controversy. It is a book which is a help neither to the scholar of constitutional development nor to the African leaders attempting to come to some close engagement with these problems.

In the preface to this 89-page book Sir Ivor Jennings informs us that in 1955 the BBC had asked him to deliver a series of talks discussing the problems which had arisen in the making of constitutions for India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Later on, an expanded version of these talks was published in book form by the Cambridge University Press.

Consequently, when it was thought that he had accumulated even more knowledge on the problems of emerging Africa, he was persuaded to compile this handbook, I presume as a guide to the new nations in the process of creating durable democratic institutions. Disarmingly, Sir Ivor hastens to say in the preface that the task involved "an unusual effort of compression and simplification," because the material was written up in such a manner that it could be translated into some of the African languages.

But this is precisely the point upon which this book lays itself open to attack, for whatever admirable objectives the author had set for himself, there is nothing in this book which would startle us into thinking anew, or even briskly, about the problems of democracy in the new Africa. As for

the African leaders themselves, one would presume that they would have gathered more information and knowledge on the problems of constitutional developments and the solutions which have been found to them than are presented in this booklet. For any accumulated knowledge and wisdom that Sir Ivor lays claim to has been "compressed and simplified" out of existence. To sketch out the history of constitutional developments in Britain or in India and Pakistan and by implication to draw the conclusion that the problems of modern Africa have to be dealt with in a similar manner is to shun a more vigorous effort to grapple with the problems as they present themselves to Africans.

The proposition that all men are dancers and consequently that if they applied themselves diligently they would learn to execute the same steps notwithstanding their cultural backgrounds is both attractive and perplexing; it has been a useful one both for liberals and African leaders attempting to lever off the colonial grip on African peoples. During the period before independence it would not have done for African leaders to claim, as they now often do, that their historical background and tradition invests democratic notions with a different content. What they had to insist upon was not the particularity of their cultural experience but the democratic notion that all men are born equal, and therefore that all men have a right to the vote, and often this insistence led them to testify to the sameness of peoples rather than an equality in diversity.

The repudiation of the classical notion of democracy is a post-freedom phenomenon in Africa. Sir Ivor Jennings contends that to describe as democracy any system of government in which there are not at least two parties is a sheer abuse of terms. It is all very well to contend that; but it is not helpful to merely contend it; what is required is to discuss the democratic formulae in the context of African history and back-

ing from a particular historical and emotional position; we sympathise with his position, but in itself this position is no answer to the retort made by Dr Julius Nyerere when he asked where he is supposed to obtain the necessary opposition that Sir Ivor insists upon.

To say that African leaders are merely cunning when they make the claim that a two-party system is an alien form without any meaning for a large mass of Africans is, on the part of Westerners, being even more cunning or simplistic or perhaps uninformed about the dynamics of African society and about the continuing role of tradition in African politics. As far as traditional Africans are concerned there is very little difference between opposition and rebellion. This springs from their notion of society as being a sacred hierarchy starting with the God or gods, ancestral fathers, the king and advisors (or elders of the tribe) down to the ordinary citizens, all of whom are presumed to have an appointed place and social responsibilities in the society.\* In this sense African societies have been, and still are, both communalistic and elitistic. There are grounds for criticising a society so formulated, but to write a book on constitutional development in Africa and ignore the enduring and stubborn persistence of these philosophic notions in the collective life of the people who, after all, are to be the custodians of whatever constitutions are formulated is to contribute nothing to the discussion.

The form which opposition takes in traditional Africa is one of discussion, often with many sharply dissenting opinions, but once the majority has been persuaded to the rightness of a certain course opposition is seen as unnecessary, nor do those in power see any need for counting heads. True enough, African leaders can easily manipulate this society for their own power ends; at the same time there is a real case to be met in the objection by Africans that the counting of heads is not necessarily a better method of assessing

content of politics is indivisible from form and style citizens often vote in favour of accents, school ties and the toothy smile of the speaker rather than for his policies. It is quite conceivable that in this century a great number of citizens do not vote one way or another but are manipulated into rubber-stamping programmes by political leaders who have kissed babies more often.

This may be all right for technological societies which are so advanced that manipulating votes like this does not often entail a serious impediment to good government; but in societies where voting money for the building of a dam may be a matter of life and death a different form of opposition is encouraged. Rightly or wrongly, African leaders think it proper to bar a form of democratic selection that may only involve a formalistic rather than a determinate choice. Also African leaders feel, rightly or wrongly, that they are passing through a stage of economic development which can be properly called a state of emergency, rather like war-time, and in such moments some of the rights of citizens may be curtailed. They may be wrong about this but I think it is a point to argue.

The reason why the actions of African leaders often seem incomprehensible to Westerners is that they are not often seen in the context of African history and tradition. Recently the Prime Minister of Uganda got married and there were murmurs in this country about the number of champagne bottles consumed at the reception. While African societies must be vigilant about waste and unnecessary prestige projects, it is likely that cutting them out altogether might in the end contribute to a loss of pride and confidence in the society. In Africa a king must not only rule but must be seen to be ruling. It is quite possible that a shoddy lustreless wedding might bring down a government. In England it is adultery on the part of a minister that may do this. In the end we have to go back to tradition and to the moral and aesthetic notion



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The repudiation of the classical notion of democracy is a post-freedom phenomenon in Africa. Sir Ivor Jennings contends that to describe as democracy any system of government in which there are not at least two parties is a sheer abuse of terms. It is all very well to contend that; but it is not helpful to merely contend it; what is required is to discuss the democratic formulae in the context of African history and background. When Sir Ivor demands that in order to satisfy democratic requirements a state must have at least two parties, we understand him to be speak-

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\* See Professor Abrahams' *The Mind of Africa*. (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 21s.)

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Geoffrey Carnall

**Korea: still room for research**



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## Geoffrey Carnall

# Korea: still room for research

**Korea: The Limited War**, by David Rees. (Macmillan, 50s.)

If we are to learn how to get along without war, it is important to study any successful attempts there may have been to limit its scope. This certainly includes the Korean War, although it was not a very encouraging example of limitation. It was a limited war mainly in the sense that it was fought on someone else's territory. Still, General MacArthur was prevented from attacking Manchuria, the Chinese abstained from bombing Japan, atomic weapons were not used. A dangerous international situation was kept under control. What pressures achieved this? There is room for a lot of research. Unfortunately, David Rees tells a story rather than conducts an inquiry. The various campaigns are described in great detail, as are the issues raised in the US Senate's probe into the MacArthur dismissal. But he accepts his material very much in the terms in which he finds it.

This is especially evident in what he says about the Chinese intervention in November 1950, when the UN troops were advancing on the Manchurian border. Mr Rees seems to think that China should have been reassured by such statements as Truman's (in September) that he hoped "the people of China would not be misled or forced into fighting against the UN and the American people who have always been and still are their friends" - at least, they would have been reassured if it

had not been for the distorting effect of Marxism. Mr Rees considers that it was "not unreasonable for Washington to think the Chinese were bluffing" when they threatened to intervene, even though Acheson later acknowledged that they might be interested in the Manchurian border and the Yalu hydro-electric plant. When the Chinese carried out their threat, the Americans felt themselves to have been fooled. As Mr Rees makes clear, to say what you're going to do, and then do it, is an example of oriental deviousness at its most sophisticated.

Mr Rees's argument is blurred more than it need be by his unwillingness to admit the full provocativeness of the advance on the Yalu. "There was no possibility," he insists, "that MacArthur had provoked the Chinese counter-offensive." In the last chapter, indeed, he even argues that MacArthur might prove after all to have been right in his desire to extend the war. If eventually the West submits to communism, then he will have been proved right. This judgment shows little sense of what Walter Millis has called the "hypertrophy of war": its conversion from an instrument of policy into a horror of potential slaughter and destruction intolerable to any rational and decent mind." It is significant that Mr Rees reduces the awareness of this so impressively conveyed in R. W. Thompson's *Cry Korea* to a mere depression at the horrific effects of superior firepower against superior manpower.

Anti-war feeling figures chiefly as a willingness to be duped by Communist propaganda, or as an attitude easily transformed into support for MacArthurite impatience with the discipline of limited war. George Kennan's emphasis on the political rather than the military side of "containment" is barely mentioned. Yet one would have thought it was of central importance to his discussion. We have still to wait for a book which will examine the impulse given by the Korean War to efforts to find new ways of controlling conflict in the nuclear age.

## ALGERIA

from page 5

**Raptis:** This is a question which is now under study in Algeria - to find the optimum size for agricultural and industrial production. The considerations involved are both economic and social. From an economic point of view you can say in the case of agriculture that very big farms are the best. But when you have a very big farm and you try to diversify the production, which is absolutely necessary, the problems involved in the administration of the farm become much more complicated. Since we are short of technical cadres it is not recommended at this stage to go towards the construction of very big economic units, either in farms or factories.



# Letters to the Editor

## Easter march

There seems to be some confusion about the aims and policy of the 1964 Easter March which I hope I may be able to clarify.

We shall march this year as always in support of the full policy of the Campaign. Our leaflets, posters and banners will proclaim our opposition to all nuclear weapons, to all nuclear bases and to all nuclear alliances, including NATO and SEATO.

The Council agreed, however, to give special emphasis to the renunciation of the British independent nuclear force as a lead to the prevention of spread. This, they believed, would provide a clear link with the defence issues of the General Election and with marches in other countries on which prevention of spread will be a major theme.

Naturally, in demanding the renunciation of the British force, we shall not support the proposal that they should be handed over to NATO control. We shall demand a bonfire of the lot - V-bombers and missiles, Vulcans, Victors, Blue Steels and Polaris.

**Mrs P. Duff,**  
General Secretary,  
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament,  
2 Carthusian St, London E.C.1.

## Our incapacity to fear

Satish Kumar, writing in *Peace News* of January 10, 1964, has complained against Bertrand Russell by saying: "He advocates nuclear disarmament very strongly, but it seems to me that his demand is based on fear. . . . He is afraid of it. I don't know but if out of this fear we achieve nuclear disarmament, how much help will it be to us?" I would not like to criticise what Satish Kumar has said, nor defend Bertrand Russell, because I think it is quite unnecessary. What is necessary is to try to understand him more carefully and deeply. In doing so, I am sure the following few lines from Günther Anders will be very helpful. (*A Matter of Life*, edited by Clara Urghart.)

"It is our capacity to fear which is too small and which does not correspond to the magnitude of today's dangers. . . . We are living in the

age of inability to fear. Our imperative: expand the capacity of your imagination, means in concrete, increase your capacity to fear. Therefore, don't fear for itself, have the courage to be frightened and frighten others too. Frighten thy neighbour as thyself. This fear, of course, must be of a special kind: a fearless fear, since it excludes fearing those who might deride us as cowards; a stirring fear, since it should drive us into the streets instead of under cover; a loving fear, not fear of the dangers ahead, but for the generations to come."

I am convinced that it is this fearless fear, this stirring fear, this fear for the generations to come which has been driving this eminent 90-year-old philosopher literally into the streets and undergoing extreme hardships and sufferings.

**Jawaharlal Jain,**  
Delhi-Peking Friendship March,  
Maitri Ashram,  
Lilabari, Assam.

## Police and authority

I cannot accept Ted Dunn's reply (February 7) to my letter. He says "the ultimate basis of the police lies in the extent that people respect the law." This is true in the sense that all government, no matter how coercive, depends ultimately upon the fact that people are prepared to put up with it. The population in most countries easily outnumber all the governmental forces, police and army, and if they really wanted to, and rose together, they could simply overwhelm them all by sheer weight of numbers.

In real life however, this situation rarely happens. What generally happens is that a comparatively small minority become a threat to the established order, and the police have the job of putting them down, which they do by force, physical force. If they do not possess enough physical force they call for the army, as happened in the case of the Sidney Street siege in this country, or the Bonnot gang in France. Not only are the police in most countries heavily armed, they are ultimately able to fall back upon the military when things get out of hand.

Does Ted Dunn really believe that the world's peace is kept by the UN? In backward parts of the world, like the Congo, small bodies of armed men can preserve a limited measure of order, but the UN has no power over the two big power blocs. What keeps the peace is the fact that it is in the interest of the two super-states to divide the world between them. When China becomes sufficiently powerful to challenge them it is probable the three brigands will come to an accommodation, and split the swag, the rest of the world, three ways.

The UN is no more than a useful club, where the representatives of the various states can meet and argue, and abuse each other, but I suspect the real decisions are taken elsewhere, behind the scenes. However, if the UN did become an effective world authority, a world government in short, it would probably, in its efforts to control such a large area, become either very totalitarian and centralist, or else enfeebled and with a permanent tendency to split up into its component parts, which would bring us back to where we started from. Britain could not police Cyprus because she is herself enfeebled, and no longer as powerful as she was. The Soviet Union however, which is a state at the height of its power, was able to crush Hungary without too much difficulty. The UN of course could do nothing. (In fact the UN could not even stop Britain, France and Israel in their attack on Egypt. But American pressure could.)

One of the reasons why the world has been in a sorry mess throughout history is that the authority of small groups of ruthless people is accepted and followed by the majority of the population. What we have to do is to persuade people that they should decide things for themselves instead of trusting their leaders to decide for them.

**Arthur W. Uloth,**  
17a Maxwell Road,  
London S.W.6.

## Spain

Mr Stevenson and Mr Otter (February 7) charge me with calling Mr Roa and his organisation "Communist." This is what comes from superficial reading of my letter on Spain, and coming to a subjective judgment.

I said the "indiscriminate use of the

of London Sessions as meaning that any "advertising" leaflet must be submitted for approval to the Commissioner. If it asks for funds, solicits members, suggests attendance at an event it is an advertisement. If it only states facts (such as the Arrowsmith pamphlet) it would seem to be exempt.

It was agreed that almost every trade van, as well as many other things, were un-approved advertisements, and equally liable, but there has only been one other conviction in the last 97 years. This seems a most blatant form of victimisation as well as an attempt to impose political censorship by the police. This is not only a matter of civil rights; the prevention of leafleting and poster parades will very seriously hinder the work of many organisations.

A further case is being heard on February 19, at Guildhall at 10.30 a.m., and we hope that as many people as possible will show their protest by leafleting and "advertising" in the City at that time, with as many different types of material as possible.

**Colin Johnson, for Putney and Wimbledon Working Group, Committee of 100,**  
21b Carlton Drive, London S.W.15.

## Rwanda

The massacre of men, women and children in Rwanda is reported to be claiming 1,000 victims a day. It is said to be the deliberate policy of the Hutu government.

Just what are the UN in Rwanda up to? One report has emanated from them since the massacres began, dubbing the whole terrible affair "an internal dispute." If this is what the UN calls an internal dispute; men with their hands and legs chopped off, children and women mutilated and thrown in heaps into the rivers, villages and areas of the "refugee camps" pillaged and burnt, it seems nothing less than global warfare would move them to action.

Grimond and some other Liberal MPs have tabled a motion, I understand, in the House of Commons "urging the Government" to have our UN delegation in New York raise the matter in the General Assembly.

I feel action is dictated immediately. I will give up my time and energy to organising some kind of coherent protest directed at the Government if it



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London S.W.6.

## Spain

Mr Stevenson and Mr Otter (February 7) charge me with calling Mr Roa and his organisation "Communist." This is what comes from superficial reading of my letter on Spain, and coming to a subjective judgment.

I said the "indiscriminate use of the word Fascist by Communists and other rabid people" hardly merits discussion. This is an objective statement.

Many people have taken for granted the garbled reports on Spain published in the press at the time. One of the greatest successes of the Communists was that of persuading the press of the world to describe the Moscow-inspired Republicans as "loyalists" and the Spanish armies under Franco as "insurgents." The issues at stake in Spain during the civil war there were at no time presented impartially by our press. Thinking people have become much wiser since.

Anybody who took the daily press then as his guide, when a pro-Communist mania was sweeping through the ranks of our journalists, would be as liable as anyone else to form wrong impressions. Since your correspondents bring in the religious aspect it is interesting to note that the Pope has never expressed the slightest approval of General Franco's specific role as dictator in Spain. He did express approval of his cause in so far as he defended Spain against the Reds, and guaranteed the protection of the Church against their hostility. But this did not imply approval of whatever form of political administration Franco might choose subsequently to adopt.

D. F. Conlan,  
588 Stratford Road,  
Sparkhill,  
Birmingham 11.

## Leafleting

As regular readers of *Peace News* will know, the City of London Police have recently obtained a number of convictions against leafleters under section 9 of the Metropolitan Streets Act, 1867, which states that any "picture, print, board or placard" being carried on foot, horseback or vehicle, must be of a "form and manner approved by the Commissioner of Police." The area affected is six miles from Charing Cross, the penalty ten shillings.

This has been interpreted by the City

whole terrible affair, an internal dispute." If this is what the UN calls an internal dispute; men with their hands and legs chopped off, children and women mutilated and thrown in heaps into the rivers, villages and areas of the "refugee camps" pillaged and burnt, it seems nothing less than global warfare would move them to action.

Grimond and some other Liberal MPs have tabled a motion, I understand, in the House of Commons "urging the Government" to have our UN delegation in New York raise the matter in the General Assembly.

I feel action is dictated immediately. I will give up my time and energy to organising some kind of coherent protest, directed at the Government, if it doesn't move immediately on this. I'd be glad to hear from others so inclined. Though naturally I'd prefer a protest directed from London.

Roger Moody,  
20 Beckington Road,  
Knowle, Bristol 3.

## Vivisection

John Richards, in his letter about bacteriological warfare (January 31), says that he is no anti-vivisectionist, as though to be one were in some way shameful. Mr Richards is rightly distressed at the sufferings of animals used in bacteriological warfare research; but animals used for medical research do not suffer less because the purpose of the research differs. If it is the suffering the animals endure that bothers Mr Richards he most certainly should be an anti-vivisectionist.

Mrs Averil Morrill,  
164 Elizabeth Avenue,  
Lt Chalfont,  
Amersham, Bucks.

## Unfair

I should like to draw your attention to the difference in prison sentences imposed for non-payment of the same fine. After the Marham demonstrations last year I was fined £5, refused to pay and got seven days. Peter Allen, who was also fined £5 and refused to pay, got one month. Can anything be done about this unfairness?

Lily Lee,  
58 Clarendon Road,  
Norwich.

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another**

This pledge signed by each member is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union send your pledge to PPU Headquarters Dick Sheppard House 6 Endsleigh Street WC1

# WAR ON WANT

## some possible projects

### 1 HEALTH FACILITIES

5s for enough powdered milk to give 50 children one large glass of milk for one week - or one child for one year (the milk is given to us free and we pay transport). £5 for penicillin to treat 250 children for yaws, a crippling disease with sores. £1 for antibiotics to cure 10 children of trachoma and thus prevent blindness. £150-£400 for ambulance. £430 for X-ray unit. £100-£150 for clinic or midwifery unit.

### 2 WELLS

(essential for both food production and public health)  
£40-£250 according to the condition of the ground.

### 3 AGRICULTURE

Stocking a farm: £80-£100 pedigree cow; £4 each sheep; £5 each goat; 10s each chicken. Farm implements: 5s for rake; £10 for drill; £3-£120 for plough; £100 for tractor (second-hand); £500 for tractor (new).

### 4 EDUCATION

£5 for exercise and text books to see one child through schooling in the village for 5 years. £10 for craftsman tools.

Your gift large or small will be received with great appreciation by the Honorary Treasurer

**Rt Hon James Griffiths MP**

**WAR ON WANT, LONDON W5**

Clothes desperately needed - all kinds - War on Want, Caxton Street South, London E.16.

If you pay income tax at standard rate a covenanted gift provides an extra 12s 8d in each 20s.



# East Germany to hold Easter marches

Adam Roberts writes: The East German Peace Council, a branch of the World Council of Peace, has announced that there will be a number of marches in East Germany this Easter. Reactions in peace groups in Germany and England have been varied.

The news was first reported in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, which quoted Heinz Willman, Secretary General of the East German Peace Council, as saying that there would be Easter marches in the DDR. The marches are

being held by the Deutsche Freie Jugend (German Free Youth). One will end at Wartburg, and two at former Nazi concentration camps. It is understood that the marches are to express sympathy for the West German Easter marches and will carry the same slogans as the West German marches, merely adding some of their own.

Peace councils in Communist countries are noted for their adherence to the policies of their own governments, and it remains to be seen whether the

Deutsche Freie Jugend will be any more independent than others. The fact that there appears to be a very close connection with the East German Peace Council suggests that this is very unlikely.

The new move has taken the West German Easter March committee by surprise. Dr Andreas Buro, its executive director, was not informed officially before the newspaper account appeared, but the London office of the World Council of Peace has confirmed the re-

port. The marches, it said, were to be at Wartburg, Sachsenhausen, and Buchenwald.

The slogans of the West German Easter March committee, which are now to be carried in East Germany, have always had a largely multilateralist emphasis, and though the committee is certainly not Communist, East German Communists will find little difficulty in using its slogans.

Although the East German marches, with their use of the same slogans, could be the kiss of death for the West German movement, people in peace organisations in Britain hope that the new development will open out opportunities, particularly for sending delegations and speakers to East Germany at Easter. Regrets have been expressed that the marches in East Germany were announced without any prior negotiations, especially as a German representative of the World Council of Peace was present at the Congress of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace in Tyninge, Sweden, last month.

## Terry Chandler loses appeal

Terry Chandler, who was sentenced on December 18, 1963, to 9 months' imprisonment for causing and inciting a public nuisance during the Greek royal visit demonstrations, lost his appeal in the Court of Criminal Appeal on February 5.

Mr Chandler's main ground of appeal was that during his trial he had been denied the right to "stand by" jurors until the whole "panel" had been gone through before having to show cause against any one of them. He also maintained that the "panel" consisted not only of the jurors in court, but all the others - or all those readily available - on the list of 576 people on the Old Bailey jury panel for that court session. His appeal was adjourned on January 20 for further research to be made into these points and Mr Chandler was granted bail. The appeal was resumed on February 4. On February 5 the Lord Chief Justice, in refusing the appeal, said that the defence had no right to stand by jurors after it had exercised its legal right to challenge seven jurors peremptorily. It could stand by jurors only at the discretion of the judge in exceptional cases. The prosecution did have the right to ask jurors to stand by. It was unnecessary to go into the question of what the "panel" of jurors consisted of, since a judge who exercised the discretion of allowing the defence to stand by jurors could at any

time ask the defence to show cause. Terry Chandler was refused leave to appeal to the House of Lords, but could make an application to the Appeals Committee of the Lords.

*The Guardian's* legal correspondent commented on February 6 that the prosecution's right to ask jurors to stand by "more than compensates the prosecution for its not enjoying the statutory right of challenging the seven jurors without showing cause." "In practice," the *Guardian* correspondent continues, "the prosecution rarely uses the 'stand-by' procedure. It is thought that instead informal and discreet representations are sometimes made by the police to the officials responsible for the selection of the jury, indicating that individuals on the panel will not be acceptable. . . . In espionage and similar cases, the authorities go so far as to institute security checks on potential jurymen, though this has never been officially admitted." Mr Chandler's stand on the challenging

of jurors - and his actual "standing-by" of 28 jurors at his trial - arose from the answers obtained to a questionnaire which members of the Committee of 100 obtained from virtually all of the 576 jurors on the Old Bailey panel for that session. Mr Chandler explained:

"The people selected for jury service are by no means a cross-section of the population. As a rule, they are very reactionary in their views. The selection system is based on property ownership and social status, tending to favour people who are opposed to all the Committee of 100 stands for. Indeed, looking at twenty people from one list, we see that 12 are company directors and four others are chartered accountants. This is a political trial. . . . The political views and tendencies of the jurors are obviously relevant . . . and I intend to show up these political charges . . . by objecting to jurymen. The grounds I shall use are that they are antagonistic to the Committee of 100 of which I am a member."

## Irish students demand camps for itinerants

During the last few weeks, Irish students have joined Irish travelling people in an Itinerants' Action Committee which demands the establishment of permanent camp sites for the itinerants with all necessary social facilities provided. The students have

3, to ask the Irish Minister for Local Government as a matter of immediate public concern to amend or introduce legislation enabling local authorities to provide temporary camping sites for itinerants.

## Disarmament candidate for Barnet

Hugh Brock writes: A unilateral disarmament candidate is to contest Mr Maudling's seat at Barnet, North London, in the General Election. The independent candidate is the Rev Patrick Figgis, 58-year-old minister of a local church who saved his deposit as an independent anti-war candidate in the South Poplar by-election in 1942. Already last week's announcement of his decision in *The Guardian* and the publicity given by the Barnet press is bringing him a band of local supporters eager to help in his campaign.

"I believe that the most important issue facing Britain is whether or not we intend in any circumstances to take part in war," said Mr Figgis last week. "If we do not intend to do so, then to prepare to do so is both misleading and wasteful."

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Dublin's Lord Mayor, Alderman Sean Moore, who has been unsympathetic to the travelling people's cause for some time, has now branded as "highly suspect" some of the people working with the Itinerant Action Group on Corporation sites around the city.

The Dublin Corporation, however, decided at a meeting on Monday, February

3, to ask the Irish Minister for Local Government as a matter of immediate public concern to amend or introduce legislation enabling local authorities to provide temporary camping sites for itinerants.

These sites would be occupied pending the outcome of the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy in the Dail, where questions have already been asked concerning the treatment of itinerants by Dublin Corporation.

Meanwhile the students' Action Committee, which is supporting the itinerants, has twice mobilised members against threatened evictions. But on both occasions within recent days the Corporation has been unable to enrol sufficient volunteers to do the work.

Most trade unionists now take the view that the evictions, carried out under police guard, are thoroughly repugnant to their movement. Already two unions have condemned the small minority of trade unionists who passed pickets at itinerant camps.

For the first time for some years, Irish trade unionists and students have joined hands to fight on a social issue of national importance. On Saturday, February 1, they accompanied itinerants' caravans and carts which paraded through the city before pulling up outside the Dail, where a petition was handed in by the chairman of the Itinerant Action Group, Mr Joseph O'Donohoe.

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Voting at Barnet in the last general election was: R. Maudling (Con.), 33,136; R. M. Prideaux (Lab.), 19,737. The total electorate then was 64,739. It is now about 70,000.

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Senator Richard Russell, chairman of the US Senate armed services committee, said on February 6 that both the US and the Soviet Union were trying to develop an effective death ray. The Senator, who spoke after hearing testimony from Robert McNamara, the Defence Secretary, said the defence budget would assure American military superiority unless Russia developed the ray first.

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Marlon Brando said at Christian Action's meeting against apartheid last Monday that a group of eminent writers and actors had decided not to allow any of their creations to be produced or sold in areas where segregation was carried on in public places. Other speakers at the meeting were Archbishop Joost de Blank, Canon Collins and Tom Kellock. Over £4,500 was collected for the Defence and Aid fund for South African political prisoners.

Lancaster University has received

## PPU opposes conscription

The National Council of the Peace Pledge Union recently reaffirmed its "complete opposition to military conscription in any shape or form." After referring to the dangers of conscription's reintroduction, the PPU statement goes on: "Any serving soldier who develops a conscientious objection to further military service, or any reservist or national service man liable to be recalled who has in the meantime developed a conscientious objection to further military service, can be advised on their rights under the National Service Acts by application to Bryan Reed, secretary of the CBCO continuing

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now available

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**Lancaster University** has received £20,000 from an anonymous charitable trust to support a senior research fellowship concerned with the causes of conflict between different states. Mr C. F. Carter, Vice-Chancellor, said that the new Fellow would work in the Department of Politics and would study particular cases of conflict and the effect of arms races on popular opinion.

**Three hundred enterprises** in Yugoslavia have started working shorter hours as an experiment. The 42-hour week is to be introduced in all enterprises and factories next year.

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## The second time

Christopher Simcox, sentenced to death at Stafford Assizes on February 6 for the second time, has lodged an appeal. He was found guilty of murdering his sister-in-law, Mrs Hilda Payton. He was previously sentenced to death in 1948 for the murder of his second wife, but was reprieved and served ten years in jail before being released.

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## 'The Quiet Battle' now available

A symposium of writings on the theory and practice of non-violent resistance was published in Britain last Monday. The book, *The Quiet Battle: Writings on the Theory and Practice of Non-Violent Resistance*, edited by Mulford Sibley, was published in the USA last summer, and recommended editorially in *Peace News* on July 5. It contains a wide variety of writings by Thoreau, Gandhi, Richard Gregg, Gene Sharp, Shridharani, and others, and is published here at 10s by W. H. Allen, 43 Essex Street, London W.C.2.

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